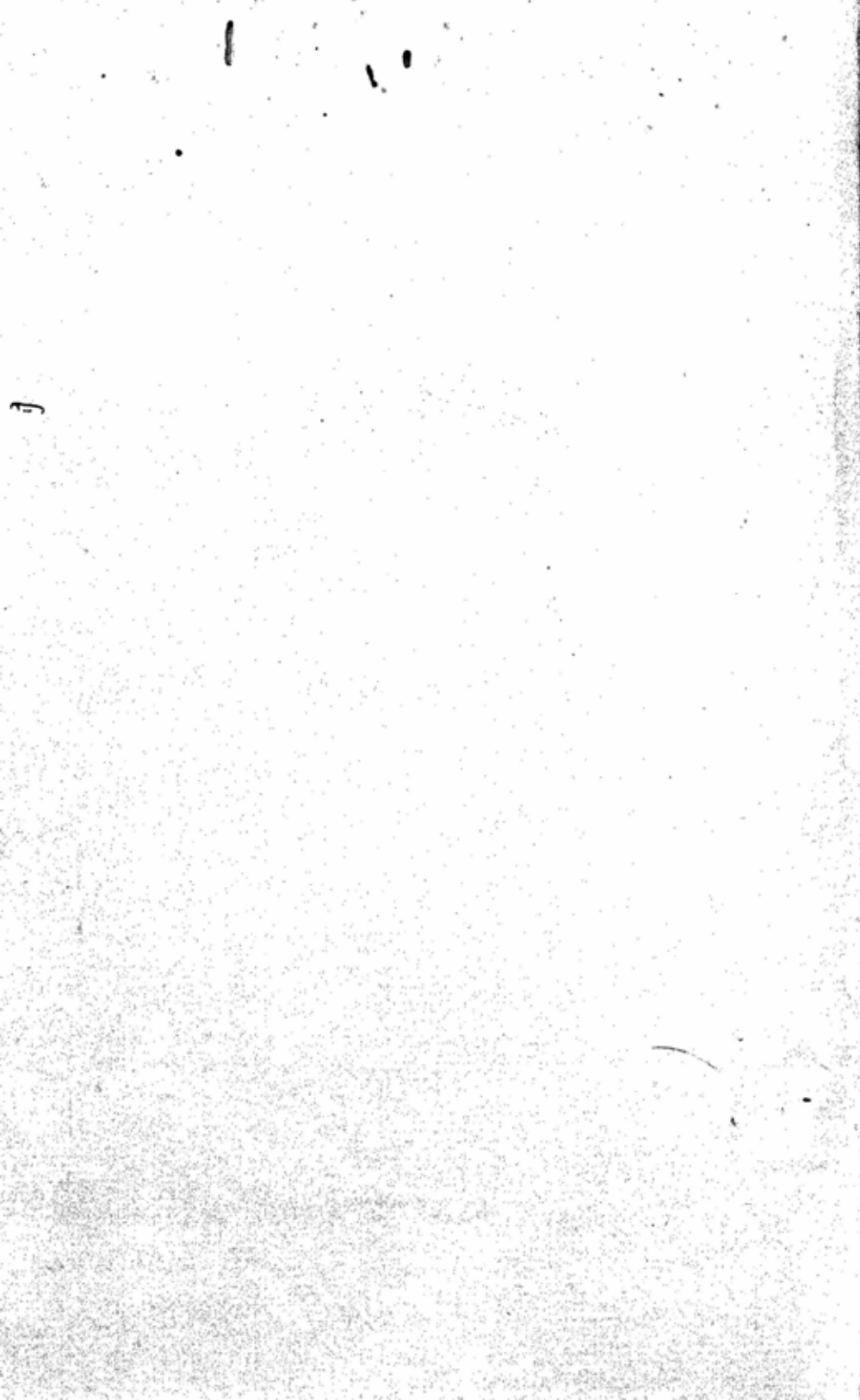


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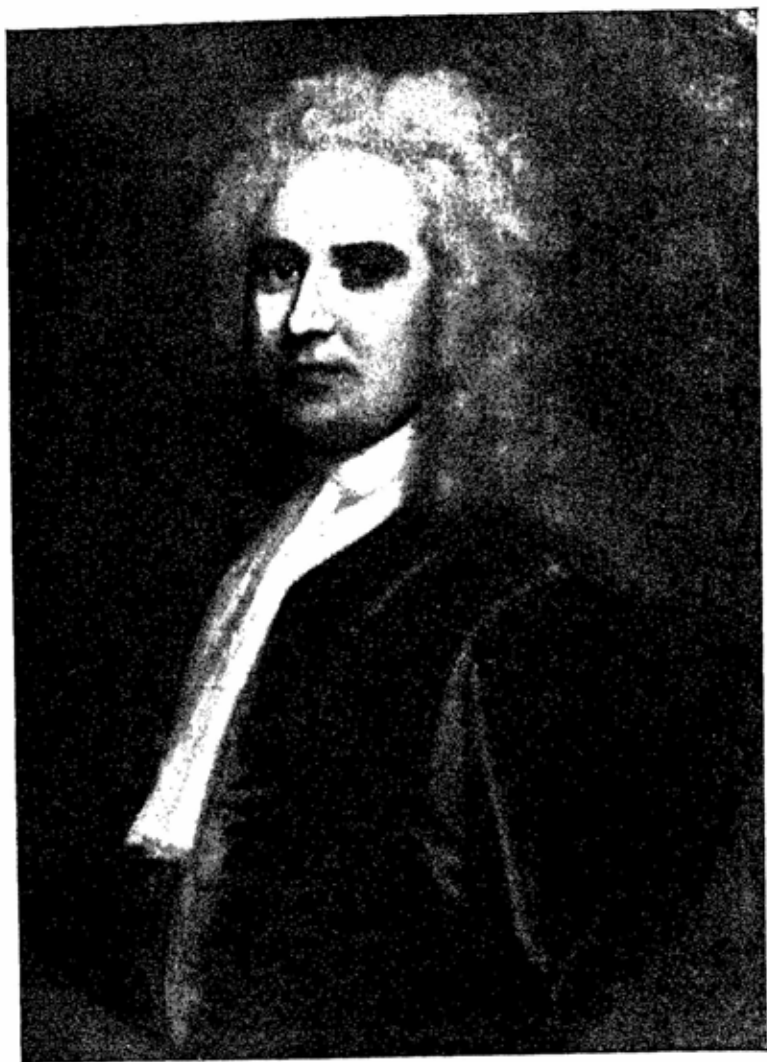
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WILLIAM
STUKELEY



WILLIAM STUKELEY, 1721
By Kneller

WILLIAM STUKELEY

*AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
ANTIQUARY*

BY
STUART PIGGOTT



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PREFACE

THE work on which this book is based was begun many years ago at the suggestion of Mr. Alexander Keiller, who drew my attention to, and placed at my disposal, his important collection of manuscripts relating to William Stukeley, an antiquary in whom Mr. Keiller and I had reason to be particularly interested as our predecessor in field-work on the great Early Bronze Age monument of Avebury. I made a preliminary examination of the Stukeley papers in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, but pressure of other work prevented a consecutive study of the large bulk of material. The accidents of war stationed me within convenient reach of Oxford in 1940-1, and I was then able to begin systematic work on the Bodleian material, which was completed after the war, in 1945-7, when I was able to deal not only with the papers at Oxford, but also with those in other collections.

In writing this account of Stukeley's life and his antiquarian work I have endeavoured to present the strictly archaeological evidence in a form which can be understood by the reader who is not himself a prehistorian but is interested in the intellectual and literary world of early eighteenth-century England, in which antiquarian studies played such an important part. Those who are more familiar with the technical problems presented by the Early Bronze Age and its monuments will, I hope, pardon what may seem perhaps rather elementary explanations of the archaeology involved.

The original draft of this study was presented as a thesis for the degree of B.Litt. in the Modern History School at Oxford, and it is with gratitude that I record the help of my

friends and colleagues during the preparation of the work in its present form. To Mr. Keiller my debt is obvious: during the years in which I was associated with him in the Avebury excavations we had constant opportunities of discussing Stukeley's records of that site, and the direct comparison in the field of his notes and surveys with the monument as it survives to-day brought a peculiar actuality to these eighteenth-century archaeological memoranda, and to their author, confirming again and again the sound observations and good sense of Stukeley in the 1720's.

To Bodley's Librarian and to Dr. R. W. Hunt, Keeper of Western Manuscripts, I am most grateful for unfailing help and facilities in my study of the material in their care or deposited on loan in the Bodleian from other collections. Among the owners of Stukeley papers in private hands I am especially grateful to my friend Sir John Clerk, Bt., of Penicuik House, Midlothian, for giving me every facility for examining the antiquarian notes and correspondence of his ancestor, Baron Clerk, the noted Scottish antiquary of his day and friend of Stukeley.¹ Captain William Cragg of Threethingham, Lincs., has also been generous in help and in allowing me to use manuscripts in his library.

In Oxford, my friends Mr. A. L. Poole, President of St. John's College, Mr. Howard Colvin of the same Society, and Miss E. A. O. Whiteman of Lady Margaret Hall, have helped me by discussion and informed criticism of the work at every stage. It is a very real pleasure to have this opportunity of recording here my sense of indebtedness to their scholarship.

To my wife's constant help and searching critical standards, especially in constructing and revising the book in its present form, my debt is more than a formal one. In William Stukeley's own words, 'it would be difficult to say whether so nice taste in the Remains of Ancient Time most recommended a young Lady, or that Refined Study became more lovely and delightful for her sake'.

¹ These papers have now been deposited in the Register House, Edinburgh.

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INTRODUCTION

‘IF any man was born for the service of Antiquity, it was Dr. Stukeley’, wrote Richard Gough in the early nineteenth century,¹ and a hundred years later, when the study of British antiquities had developed from an amateur’s hobby to a branch of learning employing the rigorous disciplines of modern science, one of its most outstanding exponents has written: ‘Let us once for all pay a tribute of esteem and gratitude to Stukeley’s memory.’² Between these two pronouncements, however, we have a century in which fictitious and imagined descriptions of Druids and their temples became increasingly popular, whilst a wider and wider publicity was given to fantastic ideas which can all be traced back to the theories of the same William Stukeley in the second half of the eighteenth century. Nor can we forget that in the late nineteenth century critics were able to demonstrate in detail how a certain alleged Itinerary of Roman Britain to which Stukeley had stood sponsor was in fact an impudent and complete forgery. How then can we resolve the inconsistencies which appear inherent in the work of this eighteenth-century antiquary, to which praise and blame seem equally applicable?

It is partly to explain this curious mixture in Stukeley’s work that this study was undertaken, for at a very early stage of investigation it became apparent that the intellectual development of the man during his lifetime of antiquarian studies would in itself give a clue to the varying quality of

¹ *Anecdotes of British Topography*, ii. 373.

² O. G. S. Crawford, in Crawford and Keiller, *Wessex from the Air* (1928), p. 211.

his work and explain its lamentable decline in his later life. From the archaeologist's viewpoint, Stukeley was a worker whose place in contemporary and subsequent antiquarian studies needed evaluation. His splendid contributions by field-work and survey to our knowledge of the great monuments of Stonehenge and Avebury had not been studied in detail, and his debt to previous workers in the same field was obscure. As a central figure in the antiquarian studies of the early eighteenth century he would afford an opportunity for an appreciation of this circle, and its relationship to the high tradition of historical studies of the Restoration and to the decline of such scholarship after about 1730.

But no biography of Stukeley could remain a merely archaeological document. The wide interests of the man, and his curious professional career, first as a doctor of medicine and subsequently as a clergyman of the Church of England, meant that the social and intellectual life of the early eighteenth century would be touched at many points. Through Stukeley's eyes it is possible to see the changes of taste and fashion which lie behind the growth of antiquarian interests in Britain, changes partly scientific, partly aesthetic. Science is predominant in his life at the University of Cambridge at the beginning of the century, and with the great figures of Georgian medicine—Sloane and Mead particularly—it continues during Stukeley's younger days as a London doctor. He now begins his friendships with painters and engravers, and is admitted to the circle of intellectual nobility which included Lord Winchelsea and Lord Pembroke.

His entry into Holy Orders throws a curious light on the conditions upon which candidates for ordination would be welcomed into the Latitudinarian Church in 1725-30, and is the more interesting since this welcome comes from that great figure of the early Georgian Church, Archbishop Wake. Stukeley's sermons, of which some were published and others remain in manuscript, are only touched upon here; they would probably repay a separate study by one tracing

in detail the vagaries of belief and doctrine tolerated within the Church of England at this period.

Stukeley's interest in architecture led him not only to make a large series of topographical and architectural drawings throughout his life, but also to more practical essays in actual construction, and of these, the designs in the Gothic manner dating from the 1740's have a considerable importance in the history of eighteenth-century architectural modes.

And as a person, Stukeley emerges as one of the most curious and complex of the English eccentrics, pathetic, charming, admirable, and laughable by turns. One becomes very endeared to the Archdruid, so enthusiastic in everything he does, whether it is riding in search of antiquities, building a hermitage in his garden, watching an eclipse of the sun (postponing his morning service so that his congregation can see it too), or writing, writing away at the extraordinary fancies of his later years, where the Druids are lurking everywhere, though they may sometimes be Moses, sometimes Apollo or Horus. He is so essentially English, and although representative of his century, yet possessing a certain timeless quality which brings him very close to us. The modern counterparts of William Stukeley still look for earthworks on the downs and write papers for the local Field Club.

In Stukeley we see, thanks to a remarkable volume of evidence, the eighteenth-century antiquary larger than life-size. He is unrepresentative and yet representative: individual, eccentric, an 'original', but with all his characteristics no more than a slight exaggeration of those of his fellow antiquaries. He is almost a corporate sum of his contemporaries, with all their achievements and their intellectual crotchets concentrated and magnified in one man. The good and bad qualities of his work, as we judge them to-day, have an equal importance if we are to attempt any balanced picture of antiquarian studies in the eighteenth century. In his life every aspect of these studies is illustrated—sound

scientific observation and theory developed to the point of fantasy, an intuitive grasp of some problems and an almost unbelievable credulity in dealing with others.

It is with a conviction of Stukeley's value as an individual that I have shaped this book around his own life and given it an essentially biographical framework. In any account of the growth of antiquarian studies of his time Stukeley would play an important part, though in some respects he is not typical, and always individual. It is his idiosyncratic approach to every problem that makes him so fascinating and gives a peculiarly characteristic flavour to his work. He is often slightly out of period. He appears as a scientist in the good seventeenth-century tradition, belated and unappreciated in the 1720's: a romantic before his time, he anticipates Blake, and designs Gothic revival buildings, twenty years later. To exclude Stukeley's personality from an account of his antiquarian work would be to make the narrative not only the poorer in humanity, but misleading in emphasis. It is easy to admit the value of his early archaeological field-work while ridiculing or ignoring his later theories, but to do this can only produce an unbalanced picture. We select, as praiseworthy and 'scientific', certain aspects of Stukeley's antiquarianism, but forget that all such studies were in origin episodes in the history of taste, and remained as such until comparatively recent years. To appreciate the eighteenth-century antiquarians and their work, we must remember that there are associations between surveying stone circles and landscape gardening, Druids and Deists, sketching in water-colours and excavating tumuli. We are dealing with an antiquarianism that was partly involved in the search for the newly discovered picturesque in nature; prehistory was non-Roman, excitingly barbarian, and so scarcely to be distinguished from Gothic in its appeal.

The importance of antiquarianism in the eighteenth century is more than the dawning of modern archaeology. For 200 years the objective field-work at Stonehenge and

Avebury was forgotten, nor was it thought important in Stukeley's own day. But his speculations on Druids, which seem to us so childishly fantastic, played a very considerable part in shaping the literary moods of the Romantic Revival, and Collins, Mason, Gray, and Blake all owe him an unacknowledged debt.

More than this, it is to Stukeley and his contemporaries that we owe so much of our unconscious attitude towards the history and landscape of our country to-day. The historian works from documents and not from the soil, but the antiquarians and their descendants, the archaeologists, since the time when the Tour in search of the Picturesque and the Prehistoric was one, have brought a sense of history into our conception of the country-side. To our ideas of what is beautiful in landscape Stukeley as well as Uvedale Price contributes his share, but above all to our appreciation of the intimate links between the country-side of England and its antiquities. This has not come from the scientific archaeology of the last few decades, but is inherent in the eighteenth-century attitude that accepted antiquarianism as a part of the Romantic Movement. This aspect can hardly be dismissed as unimportant—it has coloured English thought for two centuries—and it inevitably forms the background of this book.

The material available for a biographical study of Stukeley is enormous, and the task is one of selection rather than that of an unrewarding search for meagre scraps. In 1766, the year after his death, his library was sold in London, and this included a number of manuscript items, some of which seem to have come into the hands of such topographers as John Britton and Richard Gough.¹ The collections of the latter were acquired by the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in the nineteenth century, and those included a number of very important Stukeley manuscripts. But the bulk of the Stukeley papers passed into the hands of a member of the family, and

¹ For the vicissitudes of the Stukeley MSS. in the early nineteenth century, cf. *Antiquity*, vii (1933), 222.

in 1877 belonged to the Rev. Harris Fleming St. John of Dinmore Court, near Leominster, the descendant of William Stukeley through the female line. In that year the Surtees Society decided that a selection of this material, and other manuscripts relating to the Gale family, into which Stukeley had married, should be edited by the Rev. W. C. Lukis. This was accordingly done, and three volumes of the Society's publications were devoted to these papers and appeared between the years 1882 and 1887.¹

Before this, a large amount of correspondence with Stukeley had been published by John Nichols in his *Literary Anecdotes* and his *Illustrations of Literary History* (1812-15 and 1817-58), and in the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica* (1750-1800), together with various anecdotes and other material relating to Stukeley and his friends.

The Stukeley papers at Dinmore Court remained intact until the 1920's. A preliminary examination of them, with particular reference to the Avebury material, was made by O. G. S. Crawford,² but in 1924 and 1931 the entire collection was put up for sale at Sotheby's and dispersed.³ Some were acquired for the Bodleian,⁴ others by Mr. Alexander Keiller, but the majority were sold to booksellers. Some of these were eventually recovered by Mr. Keiller, whose collection of Stukeley MSS. at Avebury Manor is second only to that of the Bodleian, and Captain Cragg of Threkingham Hall also collected together a number of manuscript items which are now in his library. There are various other smaller collections in public and private libraries, notably the Society of Antiquaries of London and the Gentlemen's Society of Spalding.

For the ensuing study I have used as a basis the published material in the Surtees Society's volumes and in Nichols's

¹ *The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley, M.D.*, ed. by W. C. Lukis, Surtees Society, vols. lxxiii (1882); lxxvi (1883), and lxxx (1887). These volumes are cited in footnotes as SS i, ii, and iii.

² Cf. his remarks in *Wessex from the Air*, p. 211.

³ The material is listed in Sotheby's Sale Catalogues of 15 July 1924 and 1 April 1931.

⁴ *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, iv (1924), 149.

publications, but where possible have worked at first hand on the manuscripts. The first-fruits of this study appeared in 1935,¹ and the only other recent work on Stukeley and his archaeology is a treatment of the Richard of Cirencester forgery by Mr. H. J. Randall in 1933.² I have in this study deliberately concentrated on Stukeley's work as an antiquarian and as the founder of British field archaeology, and within these limitations have been mainly concerned with his work on prehistoric Britain. His contributions to the study of Roman Britain, some of which were noted by Haverfield in his 1907 Ford Lectures, could be discussed in further detail by those more qualified than I to do so. With regard to his very wide range of non-archaeological interests, here again I have not attempted to deal with, for instance, his astronomical interests, reflected by a special group of letters in the Surtees Society's volumes.

In addition to this material directly connected with William Stukeley, and that contained in his published works, my debt to other sources is reflected in the footnotes which document the text. I have utilized unpublished manuscripts in the Bodleian in connexion with the relations between John Aubrey, John Toland, and Stukeley, and those at Penicuik House for his friendship with Sir John Clerk. In an appendix I have given a list of the most important manuscript material relating to Stukeley and his work that I have been able to trace. Many of the papers sold at Sotheby's in 1924 and 1931 still remain unlocated and are presumed to be in the hands of private collectors or booksellers. I have also listed the portraits of William Stukeley known to me. Stukeley's published works (listed in Appendix C), from *An Account of a Roman Temple . . .* in 1720 to his *Letter to Mr. Macpherson* in 1763, are given in the second (1776) edition of the *Itinerarium Curiosum*, and most of these are referred to with comment in the ensuing study. Additional unpublished papers, mainly read or intended for reading to the Royal Society or the Society of Antiquaries, are in the library

¹ *Antiquity*, ix (1935), 22-32.

² *Ibid.*, vii (1933), 49-60.

of the former body and in that of Mr. Keiller. The small scientific value of his writings after about 1740 makes detailed comment unnecessary except in so far as they throw incidental light on his wide range of interests and on the development of his antiquarian theories in later life.

I. THE ANTIQUARIAN BACKGROUND, 1660-1730

IN the year 1738 Mr. Francis Wise, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and later to be the first Radcliffe Librarian, found occasion to review the advances made in antiquarian studies 'in the several periods of our more early History and Antiquities' since the publication of Camden's *Britannia* in 1586.¹ Wise was not himself a profound scholar² and his review is sketchy, but it probably does represent fairly enough the average of intelligent opinion on the matter at his time, which is more important in the present context. 'If any part was obscure, the British must have been remarkably so,' he writes, 'the times preceding Julius Caesar's invasion being a dark, and impenetrable, wild, without letters, and almost without documents, save what later antiquaries have discovered to belong to it.' But now, says Wise, our knowledge of prehistoric Britain has been remarkably increased—'upon the whole, I cannot think that any branch of our Antiquities has received greater improvements than this'. Stonehenge, Avebury, and Rollright have come to be recognized as prehistoric temples, and of these and other monuments 'we may expect a still much better account, from a very learned and celebrated pen'. At this dramatic point our eye is directed to a footnote, 'Dr. Stukeley'. The central figure of early eighteenth-century archaeology has been appropriately introduced.

At the time of Wise's writing his *Letter to Dr. Mead*,

¹ *A Letter to Dr. Mead concerning some Antiquities in Berkshire* (Oxford 1738), p. 7.

² Cf. Strickland Gibson in *Oxoniensia*, i (1936), 173.

William Stukeley was fifty-one years of age, Vicar of All Saints, Stamford, and the author of a book and a few pamphlets dealing with antiquarian matters. His two major contributions to these studies (hinted at by Wise) were not to be published until 1740 and 1743, but he was already established as the outstanding British antiquary of his time, Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries. Whatever Hearne might have said of his being 'not much admired among judicious Men, being an hypothetical, fancifull Man',¹ he was certainly regarded by most of his contemporaries as the one man who understood the ancient monuments of pre-Roman Britain. His antiquarian investigations had started when he was in his twenties and a doctor of medicine practising in Lincolnshire: from 1718 to 1725 he was actively engaged in the field-work which can now be recognized as the main scientific achievement of his archaeological career. By the 1730's we find him married and in Holy Orders, and producing works of half-religious, half-antiquarian speculation; such productions occupied the remainder of his life (from the middle of the century in London), and though even his admirers could not conceal the fact that his theories were becoming increasingly fantastic as time went on, he still retained an unchallenged position as practically the only antiquary in England whose main theme of interest was the pre-Roman period. An old man, he found himself in the vastly changed intellectual atmosphere of the later eighteenth century, visiting 'Mr. Hor. Walpole in his most elegant Gothic Seat at Strawberry Hill' and writing as his last published work a dissertation on Macpherson's *Ossian* poems which had recently appeared. After his death in 1765 we have to wait until the nineteenth century before we find men taking up the tradition of archaeological field-work where he left it, and until the twentieth before the worth of his work was realized and the sound observations of his earlier years disentangled from the very curious speculations of his later life.

¹ Thomas Hearne, *Collections* (Oxford Hist. Soc.), viii. 111.

He is a link between two worlds. Brought up in the scientific and scholarly traditions of the late seventeenth century, the world of Newton and Wren and of the great historians such as Dugdale, Hickes, and Wanley, he lived to see the Royal Society in decline, lampooned for its ridiculous *Transactions*, and history in the hands of the dilettanti. He began his intellectual life in an age of Palladian architecture and Augustan verse, but by his later years the poems of Gray and Macpherson's *Ossian* were on the tables of drawing-rooms furnished in contemporary 'Gothick'.

To appreciate Stukeley's work and the position he held in the antiquarian world of the first half of the eighteenth century, some historical retrospect is necessary before we discuss his life in detail and his entry into the learned circle of his time. The founding of the Society of Antiquaries in 1718, with Stukeley as its first secretary, was in the view of many of its members rather a refounding of an institution which had its origins in Elizabethan times, when 'there was such a Society, made up of right learned Antiquaries'.¹ This Society had not survived, and so, although there was no direct continuity between the two institutions, there was not, on the other hand, any break throughout the seventeenth century in the succession of antiquaries whose studies were not confined to historical records or classical texts but were directed towards '*Archiology*, which consists of Monuments . . . still subsisting'.² Even though no formal association of scholars brought them together except in so far as the wide range of scientific interests of the new Royal Society included archaeology (like so much else), yet, particularly in the last third of the seventeenth century, antiquarian scholars were as much linked by the amenities of learned correspondence and informal meetings in colleges, taverns, or coffee-houses as were the great band of contemporary historians.

With the exception of William Camden, there are practi-

¹ *A collection of Curious Discourses*, ed. Hearne (1720), preface.

² Alexander Gordon, *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1726), preface.

cally no works of historical or antiquarian learning of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England which do not show, in their approach to the subject, a very practical and utilitarian viewpoint. Here are the ancients, here are we—how can we profit from the works of our forefathers? The *Curious Discourses* published by Hearne in 1720, which were in fact papers offered to the original Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, are almost all written with an eye to determining and confirming by historical or archaeological precedent the institutions of the contemporary England of the writers. The antiquity of shires, of land dimensions, the office and privilege of heralds, the etymology, antiquity, and privilege of castles—the titles show immediately the antiquarians seeking to contribute to the formalization of custom and tradition into instruments of government and a defined code of laws. As Professor Douglas¹ has stressed, the great output of immense and accurate historical learning at the end of the seventeenth century was in fact the result of the search for precedent in ecclesiastical and political controversy, and this was itself but following an Elizabethan form.

It is especially interesting to turn to a peculiarly archaeological subject, the study of Roman Britain and its topography. In Elizabethan times two of the most important texts of the Roman historians concerning Britain were translated with commentaries—the *Agricola* of Tacitus and the *Gallic War* of Julius Caesar. The Tacitus translation,² published in 1591, was an early work of that great scholar, Sir Henry Savile, and contains no reference whatever to the problems of topography involved in the course of Agricola's campaign in Britain. The preface makes its contemporary application clear in such phrases as 'If thou mislike their warres, be thankfull for thine owne peace; if thou doest abhorre their tyrannies, loue and reuerence thine owne wise,

¹ David C. Douglas, *English Scholars* (1939), *passim*.

² Sir Henry Savile, *The Ende of Nero and Beginning of Galba, Fower Bookes of the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus. The Life of Agricola*. (Oxford 1591.)

just and excellent Prince.' And this lack of interest in the archaeological aspects of the earliest writers on Britain is even more apparent in the manner in which Clement Edmonds¹ dealt with Caesar's Commentaries in 1604, the very sub-title of his book being sufficient advertisement of its intention—'setting forth the Practise of the Art militarie in the time of the Romaine Empire for the better direction of our moderne Warrs'. After this declaration, it is perhaps hardly surprising that the account of the Druids in Book IV calls forth no comment, nor is the British campaign discussed in detail, but is dismissed with the words 'And thus ended the warre in Britanie, which afoordeth little matter of discourse, being indeed but a scrambling warre.' Edmonds, in fact, was not for nothing a contemporary of the creator of Capt. Fluellen, and would have thoroughly concurred in the latter's condemnation of Macmorris for having 'no more directions in the true disciplines of the wars, look you, of the Roman disciplines, than is a puppy-dog'.²

But by the first decade of the eighteenth century it would have been almost impossible to publish commentaries on the classical texts relating to Britain and Gaul without an elaborate disquisition on the topography and the identifications of the Roman towns with their modern counterparts. This linking of text to country-side dates from the great pioneer efforts of Camden, but the real developments in the study of British archaeology belong to the period 1670-1740 and form in fact a phenomenon lesser than but parallel to the rise and decline of English historical studies over the same period. To some degree the historians and prehistorians covered common ground, and Dugdale could make notes and plans of stone circles and similar prehistoric monuments while conducting a Herald's Visitation of Cumberland in 1664-5³ or Aylett Sammes print a text of Ine's Laws at the

¹ Clement Edmonds, *Observations Vpon Caesar's Commentaries* (1604).

² *Henry V*, III. ii.

³ The Visitation is in the College of Heralds, MS. C. 39. For the monuments, cf. Bersu in *Trans. Cumb. & West. Arch. Soc.* N.S. xi (1940), 169-206. Dugdale's MS.

end of his entertaining and speculative *Britannia Antiqua Restaurata* (1676), which purports to deal with prehistoric Britain and its monuments rather than with Saxon history. But on the whole the two groups of workers, those who dealt with manuscript sources for history and those who were trying to construct prehistory from field monuments, were distinct, except in so far as students of Roman Britain naturally utilized the writings of Caesar and Tacitus, or the Itineraries, in interpreting the extant inscriptions or the remains of buildings. It must be emphasized, too, that the general standard of historical studies rose during the Restoration period to a height far above that of contemporary archaeological work, and giants of the stature of Hickes or Wanley are hardly to be found among the antiquaries. Yet the objective field surveys of Aubrey and Stukeley at Stonehenge and Avebury are to-day more valuable and reliable than nearly the whole of the huge output of nineteenth-century literature on the same monuments, and Haverfield was able to say in 1907 that John Horsley's *Britannia Romana* of 1732 'was till quite lately the best and most scholarly account of any Roman province that had been written anywhere in Europe'¹—high praise enough coming from such an authority.

Of the thirty or forty books published between 1670 and 1740 concerned with British or Romano-British antiquities, about half appeared around 1710–30 and are, I think, to be related to the stimulus given to such studies by the appearance in 1695 of Edmund Gibson's great enlarged and annotated English edition of Camden's *Britannia*. This remarkable work, undertaken by a young man in his early twenties, provided a comprehensive topographical and antiquarian background embodying the then available knowledge, printed in manuscript, of the antiquities of the British was known to John Aubrey, who made notes from it in his *Monumenta MS.*, and his copy of Dugdale's plan of King Arthur's Round Table is reproduced by Bersu, p. 1 E.

¹ *The Roman Occupation of Britain* (1924), p. 75. For Horsley, see also G. Macdonald and R. C. Bosanquet in *Arch. Aeliana*, 4th S. x (1933), 1–81.

Isles. Though himself primarily an historian, Gibson (who had shown his interest in Roman Britain by his notes to Brome's edition of Somner's *Roman Ports and Forts in Kent* a couple of years before the appearance of his *Britannia*) had devoted particular attention to such archaeological matter as he could collect to amplify Camden, including extracts from the famous *Monumenta Britannica* manuscript of John Aubrey.¹

By producing this edition of Camden, so augmented as to constitute something approaching an original work, Gibson placed in the hands of the country gentry, doctors, and clergymen, a basic summary against which they could set the results of their own local inquiries in history and archaeology. An annotated copy of the 1695 or subsequent editions of Camden formed the almost inevitable nucleus around which comment and additions would grow as local investigations were carried out by these amateurs who were beginning to build up the tradition which crystallized into the great nineteenth-century county histories and the foundation of regional archaeological societies.

When we come to consider the early study of prehistoric monuments in Britain, we must for a moment turn from history to prehistory and to the actual type of the monuments themselves. It is obvious that attention would first be attracted towards ancient structures which were in some degree recognizable as architectural performances in themselves, however rough and primitive. The deliberate setting of stones into a circle (as at Rollright in Oxfordshire), or even more, with the provision of lintels, as at Stonehenge, attracted attention even in the Middle Ages² and entitled these Early Bronze Age monuments to a place among the wonders of Britain. Stone circles, therefore, or conspicuous single or grouped standing stones, and the remains of

¹ For Gibson, see Professor Norman Sykes's *Edmund Gibson* (1926), especially chap. i.

² For medieval references to Rollright, see T. H. Ravenhill, *The Rollright Stones* (Little Rollright 1926).

Neolithic collective burial chambers built of megalithic slabs (the 'dolmens' and 'cromlechs' of nineteenth-century antiquarianism) were likely to attract attention at an early stage in archaeological field studies before the recognition of less obviously artificial remains such as barrows and earthworks.

The circumstances of geology coupled with the sea routes used by the builders of megalithic tombs and stone circles in western Europe in the second and third millennia B.C. result in these structures being concentrated, as a whole, in the 'Highland Zone' of western and northern Britain. Roll-right is indeed fairly near Oxford, but historians in London or Cambridge, or those in midland or east English parishes such as Browne Willis in Buckinghamshire, or Morant at Colchester, would encounter no obvious prehistoric antiquities in their journeys about the neighbourhood. It is therefore hardly surprising to find that the study of prehistoric antiquities in the late seventeenth century was largely centred on megalithic monuments and was carried out in the main by men not professional historians, whose accident of birth or residence connected them with the areas of western Britain in which conspicuous stone circles or chambered tombs form a striking part of the local scene.

The volumes of notes and drawings of prehistoric antiquities made by the Garter King of Arms, John Anstis (1669-1744) are the work of a Cornishman:¹ John Aubrey (1626-97) discovered Avebury on a day's hunting with his neighbouring Wiltshire squires;² Edward Lhuyd (1660-1709), though working at Oxford, was a Welshman—'I don't profess to be an Englishman', he once said, 'but an old Briton.'³ He made large collections of drawings of megaliths in western Britain in connexion with his topographical researches described below: John Toland (1670-1722), that shabby firebrand with a mind of curious ability which turned

¹ For Anstis and his notes on Cornish antiquities, see below, p. 97.

² A. Powell, *John Aubrey and his Friends* (1948); for the Avebury and Stonehenge work, see *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* iv (1858), 309-63; vii (1861), 224-6.

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xi. 1096; the remark is quoted by N. Owen, *British Remains* (1777), pp. 131-84.

to Druidism and Celtic antiquities as searchingly as it had to religious controversy, was an Irishman.¹ Andrew Paschal, William Musgrave, John Strachey, and Walter Moyle, living in Somerset and Cornwall, described local megaliths and inscribed stones at the turn of the century,² Henry Rowlands, friend of Lhuyd, those of his parish and adjacent regions of Anglesey in 1723,³ and when Roger Gale edited his father's commentary on the Antonine Itinerary in 1709⁴ he included in it drawings and descriptions of the standing stones known as the Devil's Arrows at Boroughbridge, not far from the Gales' Yorkshire home. In Scotland, Professor Garden of Aberdeen corresponded with Aubrey on the east Scottish 'Recumbent Stone' circles, and the outstanding monuments in Orkney and the Hebrides had been described by Wallace (1693)⁵ and Martin (1703).⁶ Sir Robert Sibbald described some Roman and prehistoric sites and finds, especially in his *Miscellanea quaedam Eruditae Antiquitatis* of 1710.

In addition to these studies on the megalithic monuments of the north and west, Roman antiquities were relatively obvious objects of antiquarian comment. Alexander Gordon in 1726 published his folio on Roman Scotland, and his patron, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, was himself a zealous recorder of Roman antiquities and inscriptions.⁷ In England, there were the accounts of Somner and Batteley of the Richborough and other Kent sites in 1693 and 1711⁸ as well as Horsley's great book of 1732 and Ralph Thoresby's work in Yorkshire.⁹

¹ For Toland, see below, p. 98.

² For Paschal, see, for example, a letter to John Aubrey printed in *Miscellanies on Several Curious Subjects* (1714), pp. 15-19. William Musgrave published *Antiquitates Britanno-Belgicae* (1719); for John Strachey, cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 1st Supp. iii. 334; Moyle's letters were published in his posthumous *Works* (1726).

³ *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* (1723).

⁴ *Antonini Itiner Britanniarum* (1709).

⁵ *An Account of the Isles of Orkney* (1693).

⁶ *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703).

⁷ *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1726); the Clerk Papers are largely unpublished.

⁸ Somner, *Roman Ports and Forts in Kent* (1693); John Batteley, *Antiquitates Rutupinae* (1711). ⁹ Cf. *Diary of Ralph Thoresby* (1677-1724), ed. Hunter 1830.

It is not the place here to analyse this remarkable body of local archeological studies almost all dating from the thirty years following the publication of Gibson's edition of Camden. It not only clearly justifies Francis Wise's claim in 1738 that British prehistoric studies had, over the past generation, made a significant advance, but it also indicates the material already available to William Stukeley when he began his own studies of prehistoric and Roman field monuments around 1715-20. Characteristically, he is an exception in having, as a Lincolnshire man, no territorial associations with the megalithic monuments he studied to such good effect: he approached them from the outside, and his original plan of research seems to have been to compile some sort of objective synthesis of the whole known range of such structures in Britain. How far he succeeded in this ambitious plan we shall see later—the final result bears but little resemblance to such a project.

John Aubrey before him, in his *Monumenta Britannica*, had, in his own incomparable blend of diligence and wayward inconsequence, attempted something similar, which had come as near completion in a manuscript draft as any work of Aubrey's ever could, but which got no nearer printing than a prospectus and specimen page issued in 1693.¹ Much of Stukeley's work did appear in print, each instalment deviating more and more from the original intention; some, fortunately, remains in early manuscript draft where the main purpose of objective record and comment is not swamped by accretions of theory or dimmed by the dust arising from forgotten religious controversy. The study of William Stukeley's intellectual life and the estimate of his contribution to British archaeology largely depends on the separation of these two strains in his work.

The bulk of the archaeological literature on which I have very briefly commented above seems to be the outcome of a genuine scientific curiosity about the local antiquities of the country-side as a part of that investigation of all phenomena

¹ A copy of these proposals is in Bodl. Wood 658, f. 780.

of the visible world which is so well mirrored in the early transactions of the Royal Society. It took a practical form at the end of the seventeenth century when more than one set of questionnaires were sent out to country squires and clergy by scholars intent on compiling topographical accounts of the various regions of Britain in which they might be interested.

The earliest set of queries I have been able to trace is that issued in 1673 by John Ogilby, 'His Majesties Cosmographer', who was engaged upon a survey and road-book of Great Britain including '*An Historical and Geographical Description thereof, more Accurate than whatever has been heretofore done, in a fair large Volume, stil'd BRITANNIA.*' To this end a printed broadsheet of 'QUERIES In Order to the Description of BRITANNIA' was sent to 'the Nobility and Gentry and all other Ingenious Persons'. There were some twenty short queries, which included a few antiquarian subjects such as 'Castles, Churches, Chappels, Monasteries, Hospitals, Schools, Colleges', or '*Roman Ways and Stations, Coyns and Monuments &c.*'¹

The parochial inquiry then seems to have been taken up in Oxford, where Thomas Machell, of Cracanthorpe in Westmorland and a Fellow of Queen's, issued in January 1676-7 a broadsheet of queries headed *That the Northern Counties which abound in Antiquities and Ancient Gentry, may no longer be bury'd in Silence*, and presumably intended for circulation to the ancient gentry themselves. It is a rather breathless production, with the queries crowding upon one another in close and sometimes startling juxtaposition—'What Horse-Races?' Machell asks: 'Where? for what prize? by whom first appointed, and how long ago? What memorable places where Battles have been fought? Round heaps of stones, or

¹ Bodl. MS. Aubrey 4, ff. 243-4. Mr. Powell drew attention to this questionnaire in *John Aubrey and his Friends* (1948), p. 152, but wrongly attributed it to a scheme for revising William Camden's *Britannia*. The first volume of Ogilby's book of this name was published in 1675, though no further volumes appeared. Camden's work had to wait for its revision until Gibson undertook the task in 1693-4.

Earth cast up in Hills, trench'd round about, or otherwise? What fortifications, Camps?¹

Two years later the questionnaires of Robert Plot of the Ashmolean were compiled, also in Oxford, entitled *Enquiries to be propounded to the most Ingenious of each County in my Travels through England and Wales in order to their History of Nature and Arts* and printed in February 1678-9. References to antiquities are more specific here, if rather more romantically phrased than Machell's terse questions: Enquiry viii runs 'Are there any ancient *Sepulchres* hereabout of Men of *Gigantick stature*, *Roman Generals* or *others* of ancient times? has there ever been any *apparitions hereabout?*', and Enquiry x continues:

Are there the remains of any ancient *Castles* or *Fortifications* hereabout, any ancient *Ways* or *Banks* of Land now remaining, and *Barrows*, or ancient *Monuments* of stone? . . . Find you hereabout any ancient *Mony*, *Urns*, *Lamps*, *Lachrymatories*, *Pavements*, *Bracelets*, *Rings*, *Seals*, or other *British*, *Roman*, *Saxon* or *Danish*, antiquities?

Partly as a result of such inquiries Plot produced the well-known *Natural Histories* of Oxfordshire and Staffordshire, in which echoes and chalybeate springs, fossils and artificial water-works, stone circles and prodigious births all get a place and a grave disquisition appropriate to each. Contemporary gossip said that he was over-credulous, easily and not infrequently hoaxed by those to whom he addressed his queries, but his Oxfordshire volume has the merit of containing a drawing and description of the Rollright stone circle for the first time.

The best known of these comprehensive topographical inquiries was that compiled by Edward Lhuyd, Plot's successor as Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, and issued in 1697. Lhuyd, a Welshman and a Celtic scholar, planned an

¹ The sheet of queries is in Bodl. MS. Ashmole 1820^a, f. 226. Machell continued his antiquarian interests after he had become Rector of Kirkby Thore in Westmorland, and his MS. collections for the history of Cumberland and Westmorland are now in the Dean and Chapter Library at Carlisle. He died in 1698. (See Eric Birley in *Trans. Cumb. & West. Arch. Soc.*, n.s. xlv (1947), 129, 155.)

ambitious work on the antiquities and topography of Wales, of which an important part was to be an *Archaeologia Britannica* divided into four parts. The first only was completed, and published in 1707, two years before his death, dealing with the Celtic languages and their vocabularies and grammars. The second part was to contain a comparison of the customs and traditions of the Britons with those of other nations, while the third was to be:

An Account of all such Monuments now remaining in *Wales*, as are presumed to be *British*; and either older, or not much later than the *Roman* conquest: viz their Camps and Burial Places; the Monuments called *Cromlecheu* and *Meineugwyr*; their Coyns, Arms, Amulets &c.

The fourth and last series dealt with the Welsh Princes of the Roman and Sub-Roman Dark Ages.¹

To obtain material for this work, Lhuyd issued his *Parochial Queries*,² which contain in all thirty-one inquiries dealing with antiquities, the two most interesting for our purpose running as follows:

VI—A Catalogue of the *Barrows*, or those artificial mounts distinguish'd by the several Names of *Krigeu*, *Gorsedhau*, *Tommenydh*, *Beili* &c, as also of the *Camps*, and all old *Entrenchments* whatever.

VII—Roman *Ways*, *Pavements*, *Stoves*, or any Under-ground Works: Crosses, Beacons, Stones pitch'd on end in a regular Order; such as *Meinihirion* in *Caernarvonshire*, *Karn Lhechart* in *Glamorgan*, and *Buarth Arthur* in the County of *Caermardhin*; As also those rude Stone-Monuments distinguish'd by the several Names of *Bedh*, *Gwely*, *Karnedh*, *Kromlech*. . . .

In these inquiries we see the systematizing mind at work, and the collection of information concerning antiquities as a part of the general world of natural and artificial phenomena. What is important is that field antiquities—barrows

¹ Bodl. MS. Ashm. 1820a, f. 228. Lhuyd sent this outline of his projected work in an undated letter to Martin Lister, and it was subsequently printed as a broadsheet.

² Ibid., ff. 76 et seqq. Many of these sheets of printed queries have the replies from the Welsh clergy and others written in the frequently quite inadequate spaces provided. The details of antiquities are usually very vague, if given at all.

or megalithic tombs or entrenchments—were recognized as fit objects for scientific study. The first field archaeologists were the equivalent in their own studies to men such as John Ray in natural history, and the search and record of megalithic monuments runs parallel to the collection and classification of butterflies by Petiver and Albin in the early eighteenth century and the 'Aurelians' later.¹ Stukeley as a young man collected additions to Ray's *Catalogus Plantarum Circa Cantabrigiam*, and Locke's friend, John Strachey, to whom Stukeley owed his first plan and account of the Stanton Drew circles in Somerset, read to the Royal Society a paper which Lyell claimed as the first explicit treatment of the theory of geological stratification.

Archaeological studies were part of the discovery of England which the gradually improving means of transport and roads² coupled with the mental temper of the time were bringing about—the tour was beginning, whether by Defoe in 1724 writing as a competent journalist of the trades and manufactures of the country, or Roger Gale chatting about his visit to Oxford in 1705, with its new buildings '*a-la-Romain*, of neat architecture', and to Stonehenge.³ Alexander Gordon was in love with the study of antiquities for its own sake—'Seeing Reason and Knowledge are the Characteristics which distinguish Mankind from the more ignoble Part of the Animal Creation', he writes in his preface in 1726, 'those Studies, which are the most improving, deserve our greatest application: In the number of which, *Antiquity* claims a great share, particularly *Archiology*, which consists of Monuments, or rather Inscriptions, still subsisting.' The defence of antiquarian studies continues in this delightfully

¹ For the early British entomologists, cf. E. B. Ford, *Butterflies* (New Naturalist Series), 1945.

² 'All over England the appreciation of scenery, the experiencing of romantic emotions, and the perception of the sublime in nature, increased in direct ratio to the number of turnpike acts' (C. Hussey, *The Picturesque*, p. 101). To this one might add, the investigation of ancient monuments in the field.

³ R. Gale, *Tour through several Parts of England 1705*, printed in a revised form of 1730 by Nichols, *Bibl. Top. Brit.*, vol iii.

enthusiastic vein, but he regrets that others may not always share his view:

I know, that there are People to be found, and it is to be regretted, some of them of Birth and Fortune, who expose their own Ignorance, in discountenancing this Kind of Knowledge, giving out, that Antiquity, and such like branches of Learning, are but the Chymeras of *Virtuosi*, dry and unpleasant Searches; So, because they themselves are blind, and incapable to relish such Pleasures, they have the Imprudence to betray their own Weakness to the World. Hence we observe, That Things which are in their Nature rough, unpolish'd, vicious and cruel, these fit their Genius the best; violent Hunting, Bear-Gardens, Gaming-tables, Quarrelling, and Midnight Revellings, are their Darling Delights.

After this rake's progress for those who are not interested in archaeology, Gordon goes on to say that he feels sure that the Society of Antiquaries, which has recently elected him a Fellow, will come to the rescue, and 'that by them Antiquity and Learning may flourish in this Island, to the total Extirpation of *Gothicism*, Ignorance and a bad Taste'.¹

This reference to 'Gothicism' is interesting, and deserves comment. Gordon was dealing with Roman antiquities, and, as we shall see later, Stukeley had founded in 1723 a society for the study of Roman Britain, of which Gordon was a member, and which had an avowedly anti-Gothic standpoint. The prevailing classicism of the early eighteenth century endowed the remains of the Roman occupation of Britain with a peculiar importance: they were the only surviving remnants of our former allegiance to the great traditions of Greece and Rome before the links were severed by the Gothic barbarians of the Middle Ages. Stukeley and Gordon in the 1720's were still consciously heirs of Rome and the Renaissance, and just as John Toland had found in contemporary architecture that 'tis still so difficult a thing to get rid of Gothic oddnesses',² they felt that the Middle Ages were the destroyers rather than the creators of art and

¹ *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1726), preface.

² *Hist. Druids* (1814 edn.), p. 134.

architecture, and the cause of Roman Britain must be upheld. But Stukeley had always had an interest in medieval architecture for its own sake, and this militant classicism did not last. We shall see how he and others threw in their lot with the barbarians, and prehistoric stone circles and medieval churches soon became as fit objects of study as any Roman altar. There is an interesting contemporary parallel in classical archaeology for this movement to go behind the Roman Imperial façade, in the revived interest in ancient Italy brought about by the publication by Thomas Coke in 1723-6 of Thomas Dempster's work of a century before on Etruscan antiquities, the *De Etruria regali*. Here again was a new and considerable impetus to the study of the fore-runners of the Romans in another field.¹

There seems little or no evidence that archaeology might be used in the search for legal or ecclesiastical precedent that had actuated so much of the fine historical research of the Restoration—its material did not admit of it—but religious controversy at last involved even prehistory in the early eighteenth century. Toland's studies in comparative religion led him to the Druids, and Stukeley's antagonism to what he conceived to be the Deistic doctrines led him to find in this half-forgotten Iron Age priesthood justification for his ideas on natural religion.

The evidence of archaeology and of comparative religion enables us to-day to see the Druids in their rightful setting, a primitive priesthood which had accidentally appeared in the literary record as a result of the contact of the Mediterranean civilizations of Greece and Rome with the northern barbarians in the first few centuries B.C. Druidism was the religion of the Celts, especially in Gaul and Britain, and in Britain at least traces its origins back into Bronze Age cults of the second millennium B.C. But the eighteenth-century antiquaries, by no means uninfluenced by the contemporary growth of romanticism, found in the scanty and often ambiguous references to Druidism in the classical writers

¹ L. Goldscheider, *Etruscan Sculpture* (1941), p. 7.

evidence of a mysterious priesthood to which every virtue could be attached, every ruined and romantic megalithic monument attributed. Before long Druids and Deists were competing for attention, and in their claims to enduring public recognition the former won. The Deistic controversy is now a remote lost cause, enshrined in the faded pages of unread sermons and pamphlets, and alive only to the ecclesiastical historian. But the Druids die hard as every British archaeologist knows to his cost, and may even to-day appear without warning in the pages of some local archaeological society's journal in the very guise in which they were decked by Dr. Stukeley 200 years ago.¹

¹ A contemporary popular paper (*Everybody's Weekly*, 22 Dec. 1945) assures its readers that the Druids 'were an occult brotherhood, necromancers possessing terrible secrets and awful power to bless or ban, soothsayers who know the very whispers of the Gods . . . physicians, cunning in their art, endowed with supernatural skill . . . perhaps . . . the first Druids migrated to the shores of the setting sun from Thibet, land of impenetrable mysteries'. Stukeley had not thought of Tibet.

II. CHILDHOOD AND THE UNIVERSITY

LINCOLNSHIRE in the late seventeenth century, and for many generations after that, was perhaps one of the most remote regions of England other than those cut off from outside contacts by mountain or moorland. The still very imperfectly drained fens made it, like the adjacent parts of Cambridgeshire, a land of marsh and heavy winter fogs:

Nay, tis as vain to wish for Sunny Days
Altho' the God of Light condense his Rays
And try his Pow'r, so must in Water lie:
All still is marsh, the Fen will ne'er be dry.

So the pedestrian local poet of 1720: these marshlands were ideal breeding-places for mosquitoes, and malaria was endemic in the fens until the nineteenth century:

Here Gnats surround you with their humming Drone
Worse than e'er plagued th' *Egyptian* Tyrant's throne
In vain the weary limbs expect Repose,
Their Din invades your Ears, their Stings your Nose.

Agues and Coughs with us as constant reign
As Itch in *Scotland*, or the Flux in *Spain*.

And the peasantry, too, at least to the prejudiced eyes of this author, were even more boorish than those in other parts of England:

The *Goths* were not so barbarous a Race
As the grim Rusticks of this motly Place,
Of Reason void, and Thought, whom Int'rest rules
Yet will be Knaves tho' Nature meant them Fools,

A strange half-humane and ungainly Brood
Their Speech uncouth, as are their Manners rude.¹

Holbeach is to-day a small country town in this fenland area of Lincolnshire, northwards of which rise the chalk uplands of the Lincolnshire Wolds; in the middle of the seventeenth century it had some standing as a market town. A John Stukeley was born at Holbeach in 1623 and seems to have been a country gentleman with a small estate at Uffington. He was a likeable character, 'of great Agility and vivacity, very quick in speech and ready witt, particularly facetious' and 'mighty fond of making extempore Jokes and verses upon Company', but this easy manner, if it brought him into friendly contact with the neighbouring nobility, also led him to follow them in their expensive pastimes, and on his death in 1675 the family estates had been sorely diminished and were encumbered by debts. He is like a character sketched by Aubrey in his *Brief Lives*, and one thinks of him with sympathy, forgetting the enforced sale of farms and mills and remembering rather the 'verses which he made upon a great Eclipse of the sun, which were not contemptible'.²

His elder son, Adlard, had been apprenticed to the law in the days when the family fortunes were presumably showing signs of declining, while the younger, also christened John, was to be brought up to 'country business and Grazing'—in other words as a small farmer. But the boy destined for this employment contrived to defer his actual entry into farming by continuing to attend Stamford Grammar School clandestinely and with the connivance of his mother, and later persuaded old John to allow him to join his brother in the study and practice of the law.

Adlard and John Stukeley set up their business in the family house at Holbeach: John married, and in 1687

¹ Quotations from *Lincolnshire: A Poem*, anon. 1720.

² A remarkably full account of Stukeley's childhood is contained in his *Commentarys* (1720), published in SS i. 1-48, and quotations in the ensuing section are from this unless otherwise documented.

William Stukeley, later to become by far the most distinguished member of the family, was born, the eldest son of a family of four boys and one girl. His father had become a person of standing in the town, concerning himself with building up the family firm, planting trees, laying out gardens, interesting himself with the town drainage, and rebuilding the various pieces of house property he acquired in Holbeach. He was obviously a solid, honest person, well respected in his native town. As might be expected, he was a sound Church-and-State man—'Loyal to his Prince, a Zealous enemy to Popery and Tyranny, attached to the Church of England, and against persecuting the Dissenters'—and his son was to represent just this essentially English religious viewpoint in later life.

At the age of five William was sent to the Free School at Holbeach under Edward Kelsall. His writing-master, Mr. Coleman, had 'a mighty knack of drawing with the pen' and William was taught by him the rudiments of drawing which were to be brought to a pitch of real ability within the next ten years and were to serve him in excellent stead as an anatomist and as an archaeologist in later life. He seems to have been a solitary child and to have lived very much apart from the rest of the Stukeley children, learning what he could of the arts and crafts from anyone who would teach him. He was eager to make or do almost anything with his hands—he goes simpling with the apothecary, learns the rudiments of surveying (and some astrology) from the parish clerk, talks to the tiler employed on his father's houses, picks up something of painting from someone else, and carves heads out of stone. A puppet-show came to the town, and young William had soon made one for himself; he learnt to dance, and to play the flute (a volume of manuscript flute music written out by him as a young man still survives),¹ and he tells how he listened enraptured to an old man who remembered the traditional ballads of Robin Hood and that of the Elizabethan hero, his namesake, Bold Stukly. His boy-

¹ Keiller MSS. Box labelled *Flute Music*.

hood interest in mechanical contrivances inevitably recalls another and more famous Lincolnshire man, Newton.

At the age of thirteen he was top of his school, and in this year (1700) he was taken into his father's legal business. The work at first appealed to William, but the law and its interpretation were not very congenial subjects to his already inquisitive and discursive mind. He often turned from the leases and contracts to peep at the school-books he had brought with him into the office and secreted in his desk; the affairs of John Doe and Richard Roe were forgotten as he found to his delight an epithet in Plutarch which could be applied to Whaplode Wood. In London during the law terms with his father he escaped from the routine of his legal duties to climb about the scaffolding of the new St. Paul's, then building, or he made his way to bookshops and to the dealers in scientific instruments: at the Lincoln Assizes he confessed that he spent more time in the cathedral and other ancient buildings of the city than attending to the courts.

Restless and unsatisfied with the monotonous drudgery of a country lawyer's office, William begged his father to send him to the university, where he might learn the discipline of those scientific studies that in his boyish way he was trying to grasp. To train as a doctor would, he felt, bring together his interests best—the botany learnt from the Holbeach apothecary would be valuable with a *Materia Medica* that still mainly relied on 'simples', craftsmanship would help the anatomist, and skill with the pencil could record his observations. His father no doubt felt that from an uninterested clerk William might easily grow to a moody and disgruntled one; perhaps, too, he remembered how he himself had rebelled against the 'country business and Grazing' which his own father had intended should form his occupation in life, taking instead to the law as a fitter outlet for an active mind, though now his son found it offered little scope for his restless scientific curiosity. To exchange a clerk for an undergraduate meant a financial loss, but the business appeared to be a sound one, and the eventual upshot was that

William was sent to Cambridge in 1703, his younger brother, John, taking his place in the family firm.

William Stukeley was admitted a pensioner of what is now Corpus Christi College, then known as Bene't College, matriculating in 1704 at the age of seventeen. His delight knew no bounds: his enthusiastic letters to his old school-friend, Ambrose Pimlow, are full of a jubilant mixture of boyish excitement and such charmingly pompous statements as 'O Philosophy (says Tully) thou empress of life, one day spent in thy studys is to be preferred before an idle eternity.'¹ He found congenial companions with whom he could talk for what seemed a far from idle eternity; they would meet in his rooms and 'the entertainment was jugs of mild and stale, pipes and tobacco'—tea was just becoming a fashionable drink at Cambridge in his last year.² Life was very full and very delightful: there were two or three lectures to attend a day, and reading with his tutor, Mr. Fawcett, in Classics, Ethics, Logic, Metaphysics, and Divinity, and with Mr. Danny in Mathematical Studies and Philosophy. He went out hunting plants and fossils in the country around, and drew landscapes everywhere, even the bathing-places of Freshmen's and Soph's Pool and Paradise, where swimming and bathing were now becoming common and no longer frowned on as in the days of that eccentric Fellow of St. John's, Everard Digby, who caused a scandal to his college and to Cambridge University by publishing in 1587 a book advocating swimming for young men.³

Dissection and chemical experiments were at this time beginning to win encouragement at Cambridge as a result of Richard Bentley's patronage of scientific studies in the university, and a new laboratory was formed out of an old lumber-house in Trinity under the supervision of the Italian

¹ W. Stukeley to A. Pimlow, 17 Apr. 1705 (SS i. 142-4).

² Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 135, f. 8. This is from an entry in his diary of 1754 when he was making a sentimental pilgrimage to Cambridge and recalling his undergraduate days.

³ Cf. *Englishmen at Rest and Play*, ed. R. Lennard, 1931, for a discussion of river-bathing in the late seventeenth century.

Vigani,¹ appointed Professor of Chemistry in 1703 and described by Abraham de la Pryme as 'a very learned chemist and a great traveller but a drunken fellow'. He was a friend of Isaac Newton for a time, but the friendship was abruptly terminated by the shocked mathematician when Vigani one day ventured to tell him 'a loose story about a Nun'.² Stukeley attended Vigani's lectures, and his notes taken on the *Materia Medica* course remained in his library until his death. His tutor gave him a room in Corpus where he could carry out experiments and dissection—it had, he records,

a very strange appearance with my Furniture in it, the wall was generally hung round with Guts, stomachs, bladders, preparations of parts and drawings. I had sand furnaces, Calots, Glasses, and all sorts of Chymical Implements. . . . Here I and my Associates often dind upon the same table as our dogs lay upon. I often prepared the pulvis fulminans and sometime surprised the whole college with a sudden explosion. I cur'd a lad once of an ague with it by a fright.

But in 1705 his father died, and his uncle Adlard (who was 'but weakly') broke down completely and died himself three weeks later. William had to go to Holbeach to help his younger brother and his mother with the family affairs as best he might: his father had become inattentive to his business in his later years and his financial affairs were not so sound as had been thought. He returned to Cambridge again, probably with some monetary sacrifice on the part of his mother. There had never been much of a margin for William's expenses in his undergraduate days, and the few letters from his father which survive show the boy hoping to be sent a watch but disappointed in the expectation,³ and conscious of his clothes which were becoming too short for him, though thoughtfully provided by the country tailor at Holbeach with enough in the seams to make them capable of being let out 'and the sooner you doe it the better, before

¹ For Vigani, see H. S. Peele in *Camb. Ant. Soc. Comms.* xxxiv (1934), 34-9.

² L. T. More, *Isaac Newton* (1934), 252.

³ John Stukeley to William Stukeley, 14 Dec. 1705 (SS i. 144).

they are thred bare, to prevent being so easily perceived', writes his careful father in the year of his death.¹

Less than two years later, Mrs. Stukeley died, and shortly after, John, William's younger brother. Once again he had to make the melancholy journey to Holbeach and to cope, now almost single-handed, with the settling up of the family business and estates. The affairs were in disorder, there were debts of £400 and more to be settled: he managed to let the family house in Holbeach, and had to sell up the furniture and even dispose at Stourbridge Fair of the silver bequeathed to him by his father. Just as his father had found himself starting afresh after the extravagance and mismanagement of John Stukeley of Uffington, so William came of age as an undergraduate with dependent younger brothers and a sister. He seems to have resumed his studies once again without discouragement, however, and created a local sensation by dissecting 'Old Hoyes', a local suicide who received a roadside burial and was therefore available for the eager medical students who could so rarely obtain a human body for examination. In 1708 he began taking his degree and 'kept his Act' according to the grotesque ceremonies of degree-conferring which survived until 1827, with Mr. Danny making the customary 'jocular speech' in Latin, full of reference to the thick country air and the frog-ridden marshes of Lincolnshire.² He returned triumphant to Holbeach and contrived to give his tenants an entertainment to celebrate the occasion, with a hogshead of ale, and 'tea by Bucketts full' for the ladies.

While at Cambridge he had already begun to take a particular interest in antiquities, and as early as 1708 made careful pen-drawings of medieval buildings such as Boston Stump. A little pocket-volume of these survives, drawn with some skill in a neat, rather dry architectural manner belonging to the seventeenth-century tradition.³ He was making

¹ John Stukeley to William Stukeley, 14 Jan. 1705/6 (SS i. 145).

² For 'keeping Acts' and the attendant ceremonies on degree conferring, see C. Wordsworth, *Scholae Academicæ* (1877), *passim*. ³ Bodl. MS. Top. gen. e. 61.

a romantic approach to ruins which would be in place a century later—'I frequently took a walk', he says, 'to sigh over the Ruins of Barnwell Abby, and made a Draught of it, and us'd to cut pieces of the Ew trees there into Tobacco Stoppers, lamenting the Destruction of so noble monuments of the Piety and Magnificence of our Ancestors'—sentiments which would have won the approval of Catherine Morland herself.

In the mode, too, of the later eighteenth and the early nineteenth century is the following charming and well-known vignette, written after his stay with friends in Northamptonshire and excursions with Martha Lucas, sister of his host. She

had somewhat of an airy temper, and accompanyd me in several of my Rambles in that Country to view Antiquitys, Roman Camps, and the like. We travel'd together like Errant Vertuosos, and when we came to an old ruind Castle, etc., we climbed together thro' every story and staircase, mutually helping one another, and pulling each other over the gaping arches and rugged heaps of rubbish, and when I had occasion to draw a view of them out, as we sat upon a stone or the grass, she held my ink horn or my paper, and was very serviceable and assistant in taking my designs, and all without any reserve or immodesty; nor could any aged Philosophers have conversd together with more innocent familiarity or less guilt even in thought or intention. Nor could travailing curiosity or Antiquarian Researches be rendered so agreeable as with a fair and witty Companion and Fellow Labourer, and when we return'd home my young disciple could entertain the Family with so very curious Relation of the curiositys we had seen, that it would be difficult to say whether so nice taste in the Remains of Ancient Time most recommended a young Lady, or that Refined Study became more lovely and delightful for her sake.

But this idyllic holiday came to an end, and in August 1709 he took himself to London, to continue his medical studies at St. Thomas's Hospital under the great Dr. Mead. He took with him from Cambridge a scientific training probably as good as any that could be obtained at that time: he had learnt to observe accurately and to record his observations in writing and by drawings. A country boy, he

was at home in the open air, on foot or horseback, looking eagerly about him at ruins or wild flowers, Roman roads or landscape gardening, with alert eyes in the face that could be sullen or suddenly animated which we see in the portraits of ten or fifteen years later.¹ For fifteen years, from 1710 to 1725, he was to make one or more expeditions on horseback across the English country-side every summer, noting, sketching, measuring, and conjecturing upon antiquities. His notes, which nearly all survive, form a topographical record of great importance, but there is more than that in his Stonehenge and Avebury work. Here we have a major contribution to British archaeology.

¹ The earliest portrait I have traced is that by Kneller (1721), now in the possession of Sir Hugh Stucley, Bt., by whose kind permission it is reproduced as the frontispiece to this book. There is a well-known mezzotint of this portrait by J. Smith, reproduced, for example, as the frontispiece to SS i. For known portraits of Stukeley see Appendix B.

III. THE DOCTOR AND THE FIELD ARCHAEOLOGIST

TO sit at the feet of Dr. Richard Mead, F.R.S., must have been a remarkable experience for William Stukeley, now a young man of twenty-two, fresh from Lincolnshire and the comparative provinciality of the University of Cambridge. Dr. Mead moves across the eighteenth-century scene as a splendid, stately, glittering embodiment of the fashionable physician, the patron of the arts, and the friend of everyone, from the Court to his students at St. Thomas's. There is a cosmopolitan polish to the great man—had he not been educated at Utrecht, and taken his degree at Padua?—and his antiquarian interests were those founded on his Italian travels, while his collections of books, sculptures, and gems were in the Renaissance manner; he was no great scholar, and one feels that this urbane physician is of another age than that which delighted in the barbarous gothicisms of our Saxon forefathers and encouraged the work of such as Humphrey Wanley. Yet if Richard Mead was no Robert Harley he had the golden touch. He could be a staunch and discerning friend to any intelligent young man, and could help to bring him into the company of the most interesting and influential society of London. The abundance of dedications to him (among which comes Francis Wise's *Letter* about the Berkshire White Horse quoted at the beginning of Chapter I) bear testimony to the place he held in the minds of contemporary writers and scholars.¹

¹ For Richard Mead cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s.v.

Stukeley pays a tribute to Mead's 'Innate goodness and sweetness of temper', while the older man (himself only in the middle thirties) must have found an answering charm in his pupil. They made the rounds of the coffee-houses together and this did not escape the comment of the other medical students. It was due to constant dinners with Dr. Mead, says Stukeley, 'where we drank nothing but french wine', that he was 'every winter laid up with the gout: and that sometimes for three or four months together. In the spring, I was oblig'd to ride for my health, and that brought me in the humour and love of travelling; whereby I indulg'd myself in the study of the antiquities of my country.'¹ Fortune so smiled on friends of Dr. Mead that even the gout produced by his convivial dinners could be no common disorder, but one conducive to antiquarian field-work, and one still feels across 200 years a certain benign glow diffused from this periwigged Maecenas with his gold-headed cane and his coach-and-six. Mead 'lived more in the broad sunshine of life than almost any man', Dr. Johnson was to say after his death, and he had the capacity of enabling his friends to share its warmth.

But in March 1710 Stukeley decided to leave London and to practise medicine in the country. He was to come back to London in 1717 only to leave it again ten years later for another period of country retirement until 1748. The years from 1710 to 1717 are probably the most obscure in the whole of his extraordinarily well-documented life. Apart from two tours in search of antiquities, the first of many, we know he took a practice in Boston, in his native Lincolnshire, and that he was made a Freeman of that town in 1713. He dedicated a print of Boston church to the Marquis of Lindsey in 1715 and wrote an account of the Roman remains of Richborough in September 1716. Clearly he was becoming more and more interested in the serious study of British antiquities, and, as we shall see, already concerning himself with Stonehenge.

¹ Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 121, ff. 26, 28.

He had made friends with Maurice Johnson of Spalding, who in 1710 had just been called to the Bar and was only a year Stukeley's senior. He had returned to his family seat of Ayscoughfee Hall at Spalding and was largely instrumental in founding, 1709-10, one of the most famous of the local antiquarian and literary societies, The Gentlemen's Society of Spalding, an institution still happily surviving after a continuous life of over 230 years. It numbered among its early members Newton, Bentley, Pope, Gay, Samuel Wesley, and Rysbrack (to select from a notable list), and had not started as an institution primarily antiquarian in its objects, but as a group of local gentry who met at the coffee-house to read, and listen to reading, from the *Tatler* and *Spectator*. But with Maurice Johnson as its secretary for the first thirty-five years of its life, and with such members as Stukeley, the Gales, Beaupré Bell, Sir John Clerk, and Alexander Gordon, it is not surprising that it devoted considerable attention to such studies and kept in the closest contact with the Society of Antiquaries of London, which could only claim to be a junior foundation, dating from 1717.¹

The minute-books of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society are continuous from 1712, and constitute a remarkable record of a provincial antiquarian and literary society's activities over more than two centuries. At the early meetings at Mr. Younger's Coffee House in Spalding explicit rules for the conduct of the meetings were laid down, and merit quotation in full. 'The Oeconomical Rule' as it is headed in the 1712 Minute Book, runs as follows:

The Society must meet or assemble at Four.

When the Season requires there must be a Table, Two Candles, a Pair of Snuffers, and a good Fire during the Society.

There must be a Pot of Coffee, of an Ounce to Eight Dishes, or in proportion.

There must be a Pot of Bohee Tea of $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. to Twelve Dishes.

¹ For Maurice Johnson, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s.v., and Nichols, *Illus.* and *Lit. Anec. passim*. For the Gentlemen's Society of Spalding, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 1 ff.

There must be Twelve clean Pipes and an Ounce of the best Tobacco.

There must be a Chamber Pot.

There must be a Latin Dictionary, a Greek Lexicon All the Printed Papers orderd by the Society not read Publickly and this Book of Injunctions.

The Coffee and Tea must be ready exactly at Five and taken away before Six which Done a Paper must be read by some member.

Then a Tankard of Ale holding One Quart and No More must be set upon the Table.

The President must always sit on the Right-Side of the Chimney and take care of the Fire.¹

There is in existence a most interesting letter from Maurice Johnson to Stukeley in 1714, advising him on books to read on British history and antiquities, apparently in response to an inquiry for such a reading-list.² Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, Book VI, will inform him 'as to the Druids and Religion (if your Profession will permit You to look into that)'—a comment not without its amusing side when one considers his passionate absorption in later life with just this subject, and containing a mild gibe at the atheism popularly attributed to the medical profession in his day as in Sir Thomas Browne's time, when the phrase *ubi tres medici, duo athei* was current. From Caesar, he can go on to Tacitus, with Savile's commentaries (the Elizabethan translation to which reference has been made above), Milton's *History of England*, Richard Verstegan's *Restitution of Decay'd Intelligence* (1605), the preface to Camden (presumably in reference to Gibson's edition), the *Introduction to the Old English History* by Robert Brady (1694)—Brady whom Professor Douglas has likened to a Horace Round of the Restoration, accurate and acrimonious in controversy—and Peter Heylin's *Help to English History* (1652).

Johnson then goes on to urge that historical studies must always be considered in their geographical context, a remark-

¹ Spalding Gentlemen's Society, Minute Book, vol. i.

² Johnson to Stukeley, 6 Apr. 1714 (Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. c. 113, f. 225).

able early appreciation of a factor which Gibbon was later to turn to such magnificent effect and which to-day has become a fundamental of historical research. He is even moved to verse on this subject:

... Geography must show
In exact Plans what Watry Currents flow
Dividing Provinces, the various Name
Each Province hath assum'd, the Land the same,
Must fix the Boundaries each Century knew
Where Cities have been, And where Forest grew.

I have quoted from this letter at length, both on account of its intrinsic interest as an expression of the view of a young man, who was not an historian, on historical studies in the early eighteenth century, and also because it helps to build up a picture of what Stukeley's background of reading was at the time when he came to study the ancient monuments of Britain at first hand. At a later stage I propose examining in detail the evidence we have for Stukeley's reading and knowledge in general of early antiquities at the time he was working at Avebury and Stonehenge, but for the present it is convenient to trace the course of his numerous journeys in which he made first-hand observations of field monuments in various parts of Britain.

The raw material on which our knowledge of these tours is based is varied. The period covered is 1710 to 1725, during which time Stukeley made ten or a dozen excursions of varying length and extending from Kent to Devonshire, Wrexham to Lincolnshire, and north to the Roman Wall. For some of these tours (e.g. those of 1710 and 1725) he kept a consecutive journal in a notebook from day to day—the original books for these two expeditions survive and may have existed for others, though they are not now traceable. From 1722 to 1724 Avebury and Stonehenge took up much of his time each year, though other places were visited as well, and for these years, and for the two journeys made in 1712, and 1719–21, we have to rely partly on the published versions of the tours which (excluding Avebury

and Stonehenge matter) were printed in his *Itinerarium Curiosum* of 1725,¹ and partly on incidental references in letters or other similar sources. One outstanding source, however, is afforded by his drawings, which he made at every place he visited and which he generally dated, and which constitute therefore almost a diary in themselves. Many of these drawings survive in the original, and others were engraved and published either in the 1725 edition of the *Itinerarium* or in the second and posthumous edition of 1776, which contains a mass of engraved plates bound together without any accompanying text. Not only did he date his original drawings, but he also dated the alterations he made to the proof engravings. At Avebury, at least, he took these proofs with him the year after they had originally been drawn and checked them against the landscape. As we shall see, this meticulous noting down of the date enables us to chart with some assurance the changing shoals and quicksands of his theories during the years he worked on megalithic monuments.

The tour of 1710 was that of an 'Itinerant Society' consisting of Stukeley and seven friends and was presumably on horse-back.² They started from Boston, and went through Deeping, Uffington (Lincs.), and Stamford. Thence they struck westwards towards Northamptonshire through Fotheringay and Oundle, and came to Boughton, the seat of the Duke of Montagu. This was a place destined to play a very important part in Stukeley's later life and he was to acquire an intimate knowledge of the great gardens and parks laid out like another Versailles, where (as he noted in 1710) 'Nature is rack'd and improv'd ten thousand ways and made to submit to the powerful Laws of Mechanism' and where the fountains were controlled by 'an Engine of neat workmanship, to force up Water in great Draughts, which cost

¹ The *Iter Boreale* of 1725 was published posthumously in the second edition (1776) of the *Itinerarium*.

² Bodl. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 85 rev. ff. All quotations dealing with this tour are from this source unless otherwise documented.

above a thousand pounds'. Stukeley's interests had not at this time become predominantly antiquarian, and his tour notes are those of one intrigued by everything remarkable or unusual—the gardens at Boughton, the fact that at Geddington 'we met with some excellent Ale', or the new buildings at Northampton going up after the recent fire. His love of architecture, which had begun in his boyhood at Holbeach, never left him, and never degenerated into mere antiquarianism. He was interested in building for building's sake and had a fine eye for structure and solidity which comes out in his drawings. He could admire (as at Northampton) the 'very fine Assize House, of Corinthian work' or 'Allhallows built after a new modell . . . a curious and very beautiful church'.¹ Equally could he appreciate the essential constructional features of Gothic beneath the surface ornament, unlike so many antiquaries of the eighteenth century who never succeeded in piercing the screen, but accepted instead the accessories of the style as its whole content.

After Northampton, the party made their way to Naseby, Towcester, and Buckingham, and so to Oxford. Here they met that successful opportunist, Dr. Sacheverell, then the hero of the hour, and took snuff from his box of Boscobel oak, while Stukeley was so impressed by the new buildings going up from the designs of Hawksmoor, Townesend, and Aldrich that he has to insert after his panegyric an apology to his own university for such disloyal sentiments. This was the great period of rebuilding in Oxford, and Stukeley had no time for antiquarianism in the reconstruction of colleges—the new quadrangle of All Souls, of Hawksmoor's designing, he regarded as 'an anachronism of the *Gothic* degenerate taste' and thought with regard to the work at University College that 'uniformity in this and other structures in the

¹ The Sessions House at Northampton was built 1676–8, and Henry Jones of Northampton, Sir Roger Norwich, and Edward Edwards all seem to have had a hand in its design. Work at All Saints Church began in 1676–8, but the portico was not complete until 1714, and the building may also be by Henry Jones. (I am indebted to Mr. Howard Colvin for this information.)

university, is no sufficient reason for using the old style of building'.¹

Near Oxford he was able to examine some Roman and prehistoric sites, at Alchester the Roman town, and earthworks at Blenheim, where he noted that Plot had confused the Grim's Ditch with a Roman road—'it was doubtless some division of the antient *Britons*', he sensibly comments, anticipating in a lucky guess the result of the excavations of a few years ago when the earthwork was shown to date from the immediately pre-Roman Iron Age.² But the most significant antiquity he saw was the Rollright Stones—an Early Bronze Age stone circle standing on the ridge of the Cotswolds above Chipping Norton.³ This had been known to Plot, and to Stukeley was 'the greatest Antiquity we have yet seen', the stones being 'corroded like wormeaten wood by the harsh Jaws of Time', and altogether they made 'a very noble, rustic, sight, and strike an odd terror upon the spectators, and admiration at the design of 'em'. 'I cannot but suppose 'em', he goes on, 'to have been an heathen temple of our Ancestors, perhaps in the Druids' time.' Despite his profession he had read his Caesar and meditated on ancient religion already: in this remark was the germ of his lifetime's work.

In 1712 Stukeley made an extensive tour to the west of Britain.⁴ He had, he says, long wanted to go to Wales, 'and longed to hear at least a language spoke soon after the deluge': the Celtic languages were still a great mystery to the learned, and, as we shall see later, philology was in a state of delightfully irresponsible conjecture which could happily equate Welsh and Hebrew and assign both to the primeval ages of mankind. It was indeed possible to produce such oddities as David Malcolme's *Essay on the Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland* (1738), which sought to establish 'a relationship between the languages of China and St. Kilda,

¹ *It. Cur.* 44-5.

² *Oxoniensia*, ii (1937), 74-92.

³ Crawford, *Long Barrows of the Cotswolds* (1925), pp. 176-7 with refs.

⁴ *It. Cur.* 51-61 (*Iter Cimbricum*).

promising eventually to demonstrate a like connexion between those of St. Kilda and the Isthmus of Darien'¹. Stukeley was no student of languages, though an undaunted interpreter of place-names and other words by means of any language which could provide four or five letters in common with the word under debate. Edward Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica* of 1707, the first attempt to correlate the known grammars and vocabularies of the Celtic languages, seems to have been beyond his superficial range in these matters. He preferred instead the speculative and unreliable *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum* published by William Baxter in 1719, to which he subscribed, and which he subsequently annotated with even more dubious etymologies than those of the author. Lhuyd's book, however, does not seem to have been in his library.

The tour of 1712, later published as the *Iter Cimbricum*, was not only made in search of spoken Welsh. He proceeds through Grantham to Derby, Buxton, the Peak, Chatsworth, and Manchester, noting some antiquities, but only as a part of the general 'curiosities' of the journey—the silk-mills at Sheffield, the baths at Buxton, the house and gardens at Chatsworth. At Manchester, 'the most rich, populous and busy village in *England*', industries and the new church 'after the London models' receive comment in a manner as un-antiquarian as that of Defoe, though naturally the Roman remains at Chester are noticed. Welsh was at last heard spoken at Wrexham. He detected enough accidental coincidences in superficial sounds to convince him that several Lincolnshire dialect words had their origin in pre-Roman Celtic speech, and was appropriately pleased with this discovery. He returned through Lichfield and Tamworth back to Boston again. The general impression one forms of this tour as one reads it in the *Itinerarium Curiosum* is that it

¹ Quoted by R. A. Aubin, *Topographical Poetry in XVIIIth Century England* (1936), p. 202. This splendid confusion reminds one of Payne Knight on the origin of Gothic architecture, 'manifestly a corruption of the sacred architecture of the Greeks and Romans, which is formed out of a combination of Egyptian, Persian and Hindoo' (*Enquiry into the Principles of Taste* (ed. 1805), p. 162).

differs little from that which could be written by any intelligent gentleman of the period with a slight, and understandable, antiquarian bias and an interest in ancient sites as a part of the country-side at large. It is not yet the characteristic product of a field archaeologist.

From the time of this tour until the year 1717 we know, as I have said, very little of Stukeley's life as a country general practitioner in Boston. The first *Iter* of the published series is an *Iter Domesticum*,¹ and in its published form has no precise indication of date, but must have been formed from notes made in Lincolnshire at this time. He made some sensible comments on the earthwork known as the Car Dyke in Lincolnshire, which he thought was likely to be a Roman canal used, among other purposes, for transporting corn from Cambridgeshire northwards. Recent archaeological evidence of the extensive Roman agricultural system in the Fenland supports this view, and the Roman date of the work is proven in Cambridgeshire and extremely likely in Lincolnshire.²

With regard to his professional activities, he is known to have encouraged the drinking of the chalybeate waters of Stanfield, near Polkingham; the practice of resorting to spas was now rising in popularity after its beginnings in the previous century.

There are a few surviving letters to Maurice Johnson that throw light on Stukeley's intellectual interests during these years. Writing in May 1714, he tells Johnson how he has compiled a great series of chronological tables³ of all the British kings from the time of the legendary Brutus. This has obviously been based on the famous medieval fabrication of Geoffrey of Monmouth, which is accepted wholeheartedly by Stukeley, who strives to vindicate Brutus as an historical figure. References to the Druids show that they,

¹ *It. Cur.* 1-34.

² For the Car Dyke in Cambridgeshire, see Fox, *Arch. Camb. Region* (1923), p. 179; in Lincolnshire, Phillips in *Antiquity*, v (1931), 106; *Arch. Journ.* xci (1934), 118.

³ Stukeley to Maurice Johnson, 19 May 1714 (Gents. Soc. Spalding MSS.).

too, were claiming his attention, but in 1716 he is more explicit about his immediate interests. 'Happening to fall' he writes:

into a Set of thoughts about Stonehenge in Wiltshire, by a prospect of Loggan's which I met withall, I undertook to make an exact Model of that most noble and stupendous piece of Antiquity, which I have accomplish'd, and from thence drawn the groundplot of its present ruins, and the view of it in its pristine State, and propose from thence to find out the original Architectonic Scheme by which it was erected, together with its design, use, Founders etc and thereby do justice to so wonderful a Curiosity which Mr. Camden passes over so slightly (as usual in things ancients than the Romans) with such a wretched anile account, as tis hard to say whether that or his draught of it be most false and trifling.¹

David Loggan (1635-93) engraved two views of Stonehenge which are certainly more satisfactory than the odd fantasy engraved in the early editions of Camden and based apparently on a Dutch original.² Stukeley's criticism of Camden's description and illustration is quite justified, and one can see that he is intending to repair the omissions in the *Britannia* of 'things ancients than the Romans' by some sort of work of his own. He was fortunately encouraged in his resolution to write a new account of Stonehenge by Lord Pembroke, whose acquaintance he made within the next few years in London, for by 1719 he is again writing to Johnson: One thing I believe I must be forc'd to bring to some kind of a head which is Stonehenge. My Lord Pembroke, in whose neighbourhood that Noble Antiquity stands, and I, have had a deal of talk about it and he generally either comes to me or sends for me two or three times a week to discourse concerning it. He has been three times this Summer and taken accurate measures of it which my short stay would not permit me and given me thereby an opportunity of finishing my Drawings.³

¹ Stukeley to Maurice Johnson, 6 June 1716 (*ibid.*).

² For the Camden engravings of Stonehenge, see E. H. Stone, *Stonehenge* (1924), pp. 147-8.

³ Stukeley to Maurice Johnson, 29 Nov. 1719 (Gents. Soc. Spalding MSS.). He had visited Stonehenge for the first time on 18 May 1719 with Roger and Samuel Gale (Gough Maps 33, f. 2v).

He had decided to return to London in 1717, and by 18 May of that year we find him established at a house in Great Ormond Street, near that which his old friend and patron Dr. Mead had taken shortly after his retirement in 1715 from the post of Physician to St. Thomas's Hospital.

We do not know the reasons for this decision to return to London, though we may infer that, as at Stamford thirty years later, he had grown weary of the provinciality of his neighbours and become restive for the company of congenial friends and a life in the more invigorating atmosphere of the circle of the London intelligentsia. Whatever the reason, the move was to have a profound influence on his future life and work, and the obscure young country doctor is well on the way to becoming Dr. Stukeley of London, Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries, the friend of the intellectual nobility and the acknowledged authority on the Ancient Britons and their temples. Despite his frequent asseverations that he loved the solitary retreats of the country, William Stukeley was really a gregarious creature. He liked conversation, and he liked a little flattery; a pleasure in debate was to make him self-opinionated and dogmatic in later life, but now, in the thirties, he must have been an entertaining talker and full of an intellectual curiosity that would have made him move in the most varied circles of learned conversation. That charm and pleasant oddness, the cheerfulness and disarming ingenuousness which Warburton was to set on record after his death as his most endearing characteristic in middle and later life, must have made him popular from the first. Now he had returned to London we see Stukeley not as an isolated individual, but for a time a member, and often the leading figure, of a group of friends and fellow antiquarians.

Of these friends we have already encountered Lord Pembroke, and the benign figure of Richard Mead, now a neighbour in Bloomsbury and setting up his picture-gallery and collection of works of art where students could come every morning to copy and examine the pictures, and Watteau

came for professional advice.¹ But one of the most important friendships formed by Stukeley during this period was that with the two sons of Thomas Gale, the eminent scholar who died as Dean of York in 1702. Roger Gale, the eldest son, was fifteen years older than Stukeley and had inherited the family estates of Scruton in Yorkshire, had represented Northallerton as a Member of Parliament intermittently between 1705 and 1710, and was in 1717 a Commissioner of Excise, dividing his time between London and Scruton.² 'This cultured country gentleman', writes Professor Douglas, 'moves freely if with a certain stiffness among the scholars of the time',³ but though he may be faintly patronizing to Hearne or off-hand to Wanley, there is little in his recorded contacts with Stukeley to suggest anything but a warm friendliness with nothing of the grand manner. Roger Gale was not a profound scholar like his father, and his habits of mind were more of the eighteenth-century dilettante than of the heroic scholars of the Restoration. He is likely to have found a more sympathetic reaction in Stukeley with his discursive interests and, in the field of historical or classical studies, shallow scholarship, than in those who, like Thomas Hearne or Humphrey Wanley, were carrying on the great tradition of immense industry and patient research founded by that band of historians of which Thomas Gale had himself been a member.

Roger Gale was in 1722 to publish the important twelfth-century documents contained in the *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*: in the field of more ancient studies he had already in 1709 published, with his own additions, his father's commentary on the Antonine Itinerary of Roman Britain. His younger brother, Samuel, only five years older than Stukeley, has even less claim to fame in antiquarian studies, to which he was, however, much attached. From the glimpses one

¹ Cf. W. T. Whitley, *Artists and their Friends in England, 1700-1799* (1928), i. 28.

² For the Gales, *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s.v. Thomas, Roger, and Samuel Gale; Nichols, *Illus. and Lit. Anec.*, *passim*; 'Reliquae Galeanae' in *Bibl. Top. Brit.* iii.

³ David C. Douglas, *English Scholars*, p. 221.

gathers of Samuel Gale, however, he seems a rather pleasant man: he was in the Customs House in London and his connoisseurship was recognized in his appointment as examiner of books and curiosities imported into England from abroad. He was the constant companion in the later days of young Dr. Ducarel, with whom he went on antiquarian tours with a coachman and a footman, travelling fifteen or twenty miles a day and staying at small inns where, after dinner, Gale would smoke his pipe while Ducarel wrote out his notes on the day's tour. His godfather and relative had been Samuel Pepys, a link with the great days when Gibson was editing the *Britannia* and dined with Pepys to discuss its progress.

Stukeley's friendship with Lord Pembroke and the brothers Gale must have been an immediate passport into the antiquarian circles of London. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society early in 1718 on Mead's nomination; Sir Isaac Newton was president and the Society was at the height of its reputation.¹ But in the previous year a group of historians and antiquarians, which included Humphrey Wanley and the Gales, were discussing the formation of a society solely devoted to antiquarian subjects. 'It was first begun by a few gentlemen', Roger Gale wrote ten years later, 'well-wishers to Antiquities, that used to meet once a week, and drink a pint of wine at a tavern for conversation'.² This informal club had in fact been formed as early as 1707 by Wanley, John Bagford, and John Talman, who had met every Friday at six in the evening at the Bear Tavern in the Strand: other members were collected, such as Peter le Neve,

¹ Stukeley, as a fellow Lincolnshire man, became on very friendly terms with Newton, and in 1752 wrote *Memoirs of Sir Isaac Newton's Life*, the original manuscript of which is now in the possession of the Royal Society (App. xxxvi), and was published under the original title, edited by A. Hastings White, in 1936. In the library of The Spalding Gentlemen's Society, in a volume of manuscript collections made by John Nichols, is Stukeley's original letter written to Mead from Grantham on 16 June 1727, giving reminiscences and a pedigree of Newton. It is to Stukeley that we owe the first authentic record of the story of Newton's discovery of gravitation by observing a falling apple. (See below, pp. 130-1.)

² Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* iv. 536.

William Elstob, and Thomas Madox, and the venue moved first to the Young Devil, and then to the Fountain, in the Strand. In 1709-10 Maurice Johnson and Stukeley copied from the Cottonian Library the original Elizabethan project for an Antiquarian Society contained in MS. Faustina C. 5. and drew up proposals based on this.¹ The Society was by the winter of 1717-18 settled on this more formal basis, with those minute-books begun which now form a continuous series to the present day.²

The foundation of the Society of Antiquaries of London, as it became called, with Stukeley as its first secretary, was in fact due to the last representatives of the fine tradition of historical scholarship in the late seventeenth century, and although in the matter of precise dates its beginnings fall within the first two decades of the eighteenth century, the spirit which brought it into being is that of the days of George Hickes and the Saxonists; the medieval historians such as Tanner, Gale, and Madox; the palaeographical studies of Wanley and the minute textual care of Thomas Hearne. Something of this spirit still remained alive in the 1720's when William Stukeley was beginning his serious antiquarian studies, and his inevitable inclusion in the newly founded Society of Antiquaries brought him into close contact with those who carried on the tradition from the previous century. But by 1730 it was almost extinct—in November 1726 the engraver Elisha Kirkall was to write to Stukeley, 'I suppose you have heard, Humphrey Wanley is dead, he undertook a second Wife who Laid him flat on

¹ Ibid., vi. 1 et seqq. (Maurice Johnson to Ducarel, 4 Feb. 1754); SS i. 181; Ellis, *Letters of Eminent Literary Men* (Camden Soc. 1843), pp. 100-2. Douglas, op. cit., pp. 131-3.

² Society of Antiquaries MS. 265 is a minute-book and record of exhibits made by Stukeley in 1719, and contains various drawings of antiquities. There is also a list of eighty-three of the earlier members with their autograph signatures, including Stukeley as secretary, Roger Gale, Thomas Rawlinson, George Vertue, Maurice Johnson, William Warburton, Humphrey Wanley, Isaac Whood, Alexander Gordon, Lords Winchelsea and Hertford, and White Kennet. This list must date from c. 1725-30. The first of the formal minute-books (vol. i) is in Stukeley's hand from the beginning to 1725.

his Back in a fortnight's time,¹ Madox died in the following January, and William Elstob (brother of Elizabeth, the 'Saxon Nymph', who was publishing critical texts of Saxon documents in the first decade of the century) had died in 1715. Stukeley was able to touch the hem of the mantle of good scholarship, but no more, and by the time he came to write his two major archaeological works in the 1740's the intellectual atmosphere was sadly changed, and he with it.²

Despite his position as secretary, Stukeley seems to have taken little part in the business of the Society of Antiquaries, nor did he communicate to them the results of his important field-work in 1719-25 except by exhibiting a model and drawings of Stonehenge and the Avenue on 14 February 1721-2. In Soc. Ant. MS. 265 he gives two lists of 'English Drawings', one of which can be identified with Bodl. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, a book of drawings made when with Roger Gale in the summer of 1721; and the other, 'English Drawings Summer 1722', some of which are contained in Bodl. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, a scrap-book of drawings of various dates. Whether these drawings were merely laid before the Society or were at one time in their possession is not clear. He was partly instrumental in setting up the committees on coins in 1721-2, referred to below on p. 75, but otherwise it is difficult to trace the part played by him in the Society's affairs. He resigned from the secretaryship on his moving to Grantham in 1726 and seems to have discontinued his subscription, with the result that he was amoved in 1740 and not re-elected until 1754. We shall see that there is reason to think that Stukeley found the Society more interested in medieval than in prehistoric or Roman studies, and so played a minimum part in its affairs.

Dr. Thomas Gale has been described as 'in many ways almost a Renaissance figure',³ with his immense breadth of knowledge and interests, ranging from the classical scholar-

¹ Kirkall to Stukeley, 17 Nov. 1725 (Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. c. 114, f. 2).

² For the decline of English historical studies after about 1730, cf. Douglas, *op. cit.*, chap. xiii.

³ Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

ship that made him Professor of Greek at Cambridge in 1666 to his profound medieval English studies which led to his editing the great series of chronicles in 1684-91. In English history his special interests lay in the pre-Conquest period: he edited Gildas and Nennius, and, as we have seen, his edition of the Antonine Itinerary was published posthumously by his son Roger. It is hardly to be wondered at that he was known to John Aubrey, who refers to Dr. Gale as 'my faithfull friend' in a letter to Anthony Wood in 1692,¹ or that he was interested in the work that Aubrey had been so long compiling, the *Monumenta Britannica*. This remarkable discursive work on British antiquities, of which an important section was that entitled *Templa Druidum*, contains the results of Aubrey's field-work at Avebury and Stonehenge. (A letter from Aubrey to Anthony Wood written in March 1679/80 implies that the original title of the whole book was to be *Templa Druidum*, later altered to the name under which the work, still to-day in manuscript, is known.)² It appears that Thomas Gale had added some notes to Aubrey's work, and as we shall see he had certainly made a transcript of much or the whole of it. In 1692 a scheme was on foot to publish the *Monumenta* with some unspecified additions of Gale's, for Aubrey wrote to Wood on 19 May of that year saying that:

Dr. Gale accepts your proposall, and is y^r servant. Mr. Wilkinson has a mind to print my Monumenta Britannica and Dr. Gales's, he is an honest man, and fitt to undertake it. Dr. Gale has promised me to assist me in it but would not have me carry them to Oxon but I will bring my Templa Druidum to be perused by you and Mr. Collins of Magd Coll.³

¹ John Aubrey to Anthony Wood, 3 Dec. 1692 (Bodl. MS. Tanner 456, f. 41). In Thomas Gale's copy of the 1610 edition of Camden's *Britannia* (Bodl. Gough. Gen. top. 51) there are various manuscript notes derived from Aubrey's information, for example: 'At Wayland Smyth near ye white horse in Berkshire and at Luckington in Wiltsh. are to be seen certain vaulted houses. J. Aubrey', on fly-leaf at end of volume. (The reference is to the chambered tombs of Wayland's Smithy, Berks., and Giant's Cave, Luckington: Crawford, *Long Barrows of the Cotswolds* (1925), pp. 47, 169).

² Aubrey to Wood, 7 Mar. 1679/80 (Bodl. MS. Tanner 456, f. 23).

³ Aubrey to Wood, 19 May 1692 (Bodl. MS. Tanner 456, f. 40).

In the following year a printed sheet of Proposals for printing the *Monumenta* appeared, and Wood dated his copy as 10 April 1693,¹ but in August of the same year Ralph Bathurst wrote to Aubrey (who from the address was at that time staying with Dr. Gale) referring to the work with Gale's annotations as still not printed.² As is well known, the *Monumenta* still remains unpublished in its entirety, though it was used by Gibson in his 1695 edition of Camden, where large extracts are printed from the *Templa Druidum* section, among others.

The annotated transcript made by Thomas Gale of Aubrey's *Monumenta Britannica* cannot now be traced,³ but there is no doubt that Roger Gale, who had inherited his father's library, showed it to Stukeley in 1717 or 1718, for in December of the latter year Stukeley retranscribed a great part of this manuscript into a folio commonplace-book⁴ with a note at the end 'Thus far Mr. Gales' Notes out of Mr. Aubrey's Collections'.⁵ It seems, pending an exhaustive collation, substantially the text of the *Monumenta* as it survives in Aubrey's holograph, but there are a few notes against which Stukeley has written 'T. Gale' or 'T. Gale 1697'.⁶ It includes a miscellaneous selection of antiquities scattered all over Britain, but most important are the notes on Avebury and a copy of the small-scale plan of the stone circles and Kennet Avenue at that place, though there is no copy of Aubrey's large plane-table survey of the circles in detail which is contained in the original manuscript of the *Monumenta*.

Nowhere in his published work does Stukeley give an indication as to the events which led up to his field-work at

¹ Bodl. Wood 658, f. 780.

² Thomas Warton, *Life . . . of Ralph Bathurst D.D.* (1762), pp. 150-1. I am indebted to Miss E. A. O. Whiteman for drawing my attention to this reference.

³ I am indebted to the Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, for searching among the Gale MSS. which were bequeathed by Roger Gale to Trinity on his death in 1744.

⁴ This manuscript is now in the Library of the Wilts. Archaeological and Natural History Society at Devizes and is cited in ensuing pages as 'Devizes MS.' or 'Devizes Common-place Book'. For its details and history, see Appendix on MS. sources.

⁵ Devizes MS. f. 37.

⁶ e.g. ff. 29 and 31.

Avebury, on which his fame as a field archaeologist to-day mainly rests. More than twenty years later, when he was writing up a retrospective journal of his earlier life, he put in an entry—'In 1718, Mr. Roger and Sam. Gale and I took a journey, through my eager desire, to view Abury, an antiquity altogether unknown',¹ and again in his published book of *Abury* (1743) he says 'when I first went thither about 1718'² without further explanation. Now these dates, unsupported by any other evidence, do not seem to me to fit in with the facts—they imply a visit to Avebury before the transcript from the Gale MS., and as he certainly made a visit there with the two Gales in May 1719, I believe the 1718 date to be a mistake of a year in the memory of an event twenty years old.

There is little doubt, I feel, that Stukeley's attention was directed to Avebury by Gale's transcript of the *Monumenta Britannica*, and that the connexion between the two great pioneer tasks of field-work on this monument was a close one. The description of Avebury in the 1695 Camden, taken from Aubrey's notes, is jejune enough and would hardly fire one with an intense desire to visit the site, but the drawings and details in the original account are another matter. In a later chapter I propose examining in detail the extent of general antiquarian knowledge, and of Stukeley's in particular, with regard to stone circles and allied monuments in the early eighteenth century, but for the present it is sufficient to indicate that references to Avebury, other than those made by Aubrey, were scanty and uninteresting. Stukeley had seen Rollright, and as we have seen was already contemplating preparing a new account of Stonehenge. The extraordinary monument revealed by Aubrey's description—stone circles that 'exceed Stonehenge as a cathedral doth a parish church'—must have filled him with the 'eager desire' he records to examine the site personally. It was now winter, but here was an incentive for another tour when the warm weather came again in 1719.

¹ SS iii. 273, quoting from Journal.

² *Abury*, p. 24.

The present village of Avebury lies in the high, wind-swept chalk downs of North Wiltshire, west of Marlborough. It was established as a village by the time of Domesday Book; the church retains pre-Conquest work, and though probably none of the cottages surviving to-day are earlier than the seventeenth century, there is archaeological evidence from pottery and other finds made during the recent excavations of intensive habitation from the time of the Norman Conquest onwards. The position of the original village was clearly determined by the more ancient structures over which it now largely sprawls, for the vast, roughly circular bank and ditch enclosing nearly thirty acres of ground and delimiting the original prehistoric site provided an obvious ready-made enclosing rampart within which the Saxon settlement could be placed, and the presence of the ancient earthworks was echoed in the place-name with its suffix of *burh*, a defended camp. To-day, the name of Avebury is associated primarily with these remarkable prehistoric structures of chalk-cut ditch and piled rampart, and the huge stones set up in circles and rows within and about the earthwork.

After its initial record by Aubrey, and Stukeley's work of surveying and description with which we shall deal in the next chapter, sporadic digging took place in the nineteenth century, but systematic excavation did not take place until the twentieth century, initiated by the work of Mr. St. George Gray in its first decade. In 1934-8 large-scale excavation, accompanied by a judicious policy of conservation and restoration, was undertaken by Mr. Alexander Keiller, and the problems of Avebury were for the first time attacked on a wide front. As a result of this work, in which I assisted, it is possible to construct a fairly coherent account of the site, and its probable sequence of construction.¹

Avebury is in itself a complex of structures covering

¹ For St. George Gray's excavations see *Arch.* lxxxiv, 99-162: for later work Keiller and Piggott, *Antiquity*, x (1936), 417-27; xiii (1939), 223-33. Cf. also Crawford and Keiller, *Wessex from the Air*, pp. 210-19 with refs.

several square miles, and mainly consisting of circles or double rows of standing stones, of local 'sarsen', natural but artificially erected in their present positions. The main group of circles is contained by the enormous ditch with external bank which formed the shelter within which the Saxon village was placed, and round the inner lip of this ditch stood a circle originally of about a hundred huge upright stones of which thirty are visible to-day standing or fallen. Within this are two smaller circles, set side by side, with approximate diameters of from 300 to 350 feet, the southern retaining five and the northern four stones out of an original number of about twenty-five to each circle. In the middle of the northern circle stood three stones, of which two remain, in the southern a single upright, now destroyed. The traces of a probable third circle still farther to the north, recovered by excavation, need not be considered here as all trace of it had vanished from the surface before Stukeley's day. All these stones lie among the cottages, gardens, and fields of the village, and in the eighteenth century the subdivision of the present fields into small, hedged, and tree-lined 'closes' must have rendered the ground-plan very difficult to disentangle.

There are four gaps in the great bank and ditch, approximately at the points of the compass. Excavation has shown that three at least of these are original features, with causeways of solid chalk left in digging the ditch on the north, west, and south: presumably that to the east is also part of the original lay-out. In the seventeenth and earlier eighteenth centuries the Bath Road ran across the downs west of Marlborough on a line still represented by a grass drove-way, and passed through the Avebury circles by the eastern and western entrances through the bank and ditch, but, as we shall see, few of the travellers along this highway noticed the prehistoric monument through which they passed on horseback or in a coach.

From the southern entrance there ran a double line of standing stones towards the village of West Kennet in the valley of the Kennet river, and then, turning south-eastwards,

the double line continued up to the crest of Overton Hill, where two small concentric stone circles stood until 1725, to be recorded by Stukeley. The lines of standing stones he named the West Kennet Avenue, by which name it has since continued to be known, and the stone circles on Overton Hill were, he states, known locally as 'The Sanctuary'—a rather improbable name for rural folk-lore, and suggesting some seventeenth-century antiquarianism at work.

From what we now know to be an original entrance in the west of the great circle, Stukeley believed that he had discovered another avenue leading towards the village of Beckhampton. Near this village still stand two out of an undoubted original setting of three stones, but the remaining stones claimed by Stukeley as representing the remnants of the Beckhampton Avenue have been destroyed since his day. The existence of such an avenue has therefore been much disputed: it would have to cross very marshy ground immediately outside the main circle, in the neighbourhood of the hamlet of Avebury Trusloe, and it has been suggested that the standing stones at Beckhampton represent the remains of a circle which may have had a separate avenue of approach from the Avebury Trusloe area. Excavation alone can settle the matter, but the recent proof that the western entrance to the main Avebury circle is an original feature of its lay-out is certainly in favour of Stukeley's claim.

The evidence of excavation is consistent in showing that Avebury belongs to the Early Bronze Age phase of culture in Britain, and probably its origins lie in the very beginning of that period. The vanguard of the British Bronze Age, the immigrants from the Continent known from their characteristic pottery as the Beaker Folk, arrived in several allied but distinctive moves between about 1900 and 1800 B.C., and from the burials placed at the foot of many of the Avebury stones at the time of their erection we can assign the original building of many of its elements to an early group of Beaker colonists who, landing on the Dorset coast, invaded Britain perhaps from Brittany. To this period



belong the Sanctuary circles, the bulk of the West Kennet Avenue, the Beckhampton standing stones, and probably the two inner circles on the main side. The great bank and ditch, with the stone circle on its inner edge, appear to represent a subsequent constructional phase (though still within the Beaker period), and probably at this time too a junction was made linking the West Kennet Avenue directly to the southern entrance of the main monument.

This strictly archaeological excursus is necessary to explain the monument to which Stukeley gave so much attention in the 1720's. His devoted record of the then extant remains, far more considerable than they were to be two centuries later when scientific work on the site first began, leaves archaeologists permanently in his debt.

Pausing long enough at Basingstoke to draw the Chapel of the Holy Ghost,¹ Stukeley and the two Gales made for Avebury in May 1719, and on the 19th he was able to make the first of his innumerable drawings of the great stone circles and avenues.² In the early eighteenth century, as we have seen, the main road ran through the circles of standing stones within their enormous encircling bank and ditch,³ and it is a tribute to the indifference of the average British traveller that nobody seems to have been struck by the remarkable nature of the site they traversed further than to notice, perhaps, with Philemon Holland, that they had come to 'an uplandish village, built in an old camp, as it seemeth, but of no large compass' and to regard the standing stones as 'rather natural, than artificial'.⁴ We are to-day as puzzled as Stukeley was that no comment was made on the regular setting of the stones, nor on the huge chalk-cut ditch and its massive rampart—'of this at least one might think', he observes, that 'its oddness would arrest one's attention, if the

¹ Bodl. MS. Top. gen. c. 61, f. 49 rev.

² Devizes MS., f. 41.

³ For the evolution of the Bath Road, see *Wessex from the Air* (1928), p. 235 and fig. 57. By 1772 the road had been moved to run a mile south of the Avebury circles, much on its present line, and the Catherine Wheel Inn, where Stukeley had stayed, was shut up for want of custom. (John Whittaker to Dr. Ducarel, 13 June 1772: Nichols, *Illus.* iv. 855.)

⁴ Camden's *Britannia*, first English trans.

stones escap'd it'.¹ But no; Stukeley and the Gales standing there in May 1719 seem to have been the first to appreciate the true nature of Avebury since that memorable day in 1648 when John Aubrey unsuspectingly discovered it on a day's hunting.

It is not to be wondered at that Avebury, in the early eighteenth century incomparably more complete a monument than it is to-day, even after the excavations and restorations of 1934-9, should have stirred the imagination of William Stukeley and caught him in the web of that strange fascination it still possesses. There are few details of this first visit of 1719, less of that of 1720, but from 1721 to 1724 we can build up a diary of his work here and at Stonehenge after he had made a decision to prepare for both monuments a detailed record of their every feature. It was an ambitious task, and one for which there was little precedent save that of Aubrey, little guide save common sense. We do not know how consciously the plan was formulated in Stukeley's mind in 1719-20, but it is certain that the destruction which he saw going on around him at Avebury was a powerful incentive to the preparation of a record in writing and in drawings before all should be lost. He was powerless to prevent the breaking up of the stones which was taking place yearly, but he knew that a record on paper was better than the total loss to the learned world of an obviously outstanding ancient monument.

He had, he felt, discovered Avebury himself—it was easy to forget Aubrey, dead a generation ago and with his notes still unpublished, when this fabulous work of remote antiquity revealed itself bit by bit, as stones were seen to form new circles or unrecognized alinements as he walked about the village and the fields around. These stone circles of Britain—Avebury the giant of them all, Stonehenge, Rollright, Stanton Drew, of which Mr. Strachey had told him at the Royal Society, the others in Wales and Cornwall with queer names which had been sketched by Aubrey, and in those

¹ *Abury*, p. 15.

notes of Edward Lhuyd's he had been shown by Anstis, Garter King-of-Arms—what were they? *Templa Druidum*, so Aubrey thought: the Druids, about which Maurice Johnson advised him to read in Caesar many years ago. Here was a field of research untouched by anyone, work that could pleasurably be combined with those tours on horseback in the spring and summer for which the gout induced by Dr. Mead's burgundy offered a more convincingly scientific excuse than his natural, almost boyish enthusiasm and intense love of the English country-side and its antiquities.

These are the thoughts which seem to run behind the notes systematically compiled in 1718–20 on stone circles and other allied structures in Britain and incorporated by Stukeley in his folio commonplace-book. The extent of the knowledge he collected, and his interpretations, will be discussed later in an appraisal of the whole Avebury and Stonehenge field-work, and it will be convenient to consider now this particular work only in its general setting of the pattern of his life from 1720 to 1725. Tours were to be made to other sites than those of megalithic monuments, new friends formed, and some hostile criticism encountered: he was still a practising doctor, and could find intellectual outlets in scientific as well as antiquarian researches. The years before he left London again in 1726 were to be crowded and enjoyable.

After the visit to Stonehenge and Avebury in the early summer of 1719 Roger Gale went to Oxford, there to call on Thomas Hearne, that curious crabbed figure who was now an established eccentric in the Oxford scene. 'He tells me', Hearne wrote in his diary, 'Dr. Stukeley is about a new Discourse upon Stone Henge, and y^t he will give a new Draught. He says Inigo Jones's Account is all wrong, as well as the Draught, and y^t it is founded altogether upon an Hypothesis.'¹ Hearne was suspicious of most people, and he was not prepared to think that Stukeley's views might be any sounder than those of Inigo Jones, however enthusiastic

¹ Thomas Hearne, *Collections* (Oxford Hist. Soc.), vii. 37.

Gale might be. He was also rather suspicious of Gale, and though he walked with him to University College, would not go in, lest he should meet his enemy, the Master, Dr. Arthur Charlett—a needless precaution as it happened, since Charlett was away. Gale was later to write to Charlett about Stonehenge, assuring him that ‘in a little time you will have a most accurate description of it, with nice plans and perspectives, and a learned dissertation upon those sorts of Circular Antiquitys from my friend Dr. Stukeley’.¹ Whatever Stukeley may have been saying himself, his friend seems to have been acting as an effective publicity agent, and helping, however unconsciously, to build up in the minds of the intelligentsia the picture of Stukeley as the one great authority upon Druids and ancient British monuments.

Such an impression was really fair enough: there were no obvious competitors in this field of studies, and since the classical sources were both exiguous and ambiguous, and the study of the actual stone circles such a novelty, no one was in a position to dispute anything Stukeley might say. The disadvantage of being a pioneer is that one has no colleagues engaged on the same researches who can effectively criticize one’s work as it progresses.

In the summer of 1719 Stukeley had been able to make a very interesting observation in field archaeology at Great Chesterford in Essex. The Roman town at this place was in great part under the plough, though much of the town wall remained, with the Crown Inn on its line.

Thither [wrote Stukeley to Roger Gale] I summoned some of the country people, and, over a pot and a pipe, fished out what I could from their discourse, as we sat surveying the corn growing upon the spot . . . the most charming sight that can be imagined is the perfect vestigia of a temple, as easily discernible in the corn as upon paper. . . . The people say, let the year come as it will, this place is ever visible, and that it has been so ever since the memory of man, and fancy the fairies dancing there causes the appearance.²

¹ R. Gale to Arthur Charlett, 13 Oct. 1719 (Bodl. MS. Rawlinson A. 275, f. 110).

² W. S. to Roger Gale, 12 July 1719 (*Reliq. Galeanae*, ii, pt. 1, p. 112).

Stukeley was in fact describing a 'crop-mark' of a type well known to-day from archaeological air survey, where the presence of ancient wall-foundations beneath the soil causes parching and a poorer growth of the crop along their lines, which show up as lighter streaks. He was able to make a sketch-plan of the building at Chesterford, and this must rank as the earliest use of the observation and record of crop-marks so far known in British archaeology. The technique seems to have been rediscovered by Haverfield on the ground in 1904, and is now standard in archaeological air-photograph interpretation.¹

Among the eight or ten books which constitute the literature of Druidism and the ancient Celtic religions from the Renaissance to the end of the seventeenth century, one delightful small quarto seems to have taken Stukeley's fancy. It was written by a doctor of medicine at Dijon and was published in 1623, but described a find made in 1598 of a glass cinerary urn within a stone cylinder with a Greek inscription recording the name of a priest, Chyndonax.² Dr. Guenebault devoted many pages to the discussion of this remarkable discovery, making allusions to the burial customs of the Scyths, the Indians, and the Ethiopians and tentatively concluding that the priest Chyndonax was a Druid. Archaeologically the whole find is suspect, and the name of Chyndonax the Druid does not appear in the august pages of Holder's *Alteltischer Sprachschatz*: Kendrick, however, thought that a case might be made for regarding it as a genuine antiquity.³

It has long been known that Stukeley was called 'Chyndonax' by his friends, and the name in fact appears on the engraved portrait by Vandergucht which forms the frontispiece to *Stonehenge* (1740). But behind this nickname, so appropriate for the Archdruid, lies a remarkably interesting

¹ Cf. O. G. S. Crawford, *Air Photography for Archaeologists* (1929), p. 4.

² M. I. Guenebault, *Le Réveil de l'Antique Tombeau de Chyndonax, prince des Vacies, Druides, Celtiques, Dijonnois*. (Dijon 1623).

³ T. D. Kendrick, *The Druids* (1927), p. 20.

episode in early eighteenth-century archaeology. In July 1722 Stukeley and a group of friends formed an antiquarian club for the study of Roman Britain, under the extraordinary name of the 'Society of Roman Knights', the members taking titles chosen, so far as possible, from those of Celtic princes or notables associated with the Roman Conquest of Britain.¹ Such a use of assumed names was not unknown in contemporary clubs of intellectuals—the Zodiac Club, founded at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1725, named its members from the planets or the zodiacal signs.² But in the Society of Roman Knights the jest was carried to an ingenious conclusion by choosing names more or less associated with the homes or country seats of the members. Lord Winchelsea takes the name of Cingetorix, a Belgic prince of eastern England; Roger Gale that of Venutius, the Brigantian ruler whose territory included Yorkshire; and Alexander Gordon was Galgacus, as befitted a Scot, though his patron, Sir John Clerk, had to be Agricola, as Celtic names were by then running short.

To the original sixteen members,³ others were added in the next two years, and as it was specifically laid down in the constitution of the Society that it would include members of both sexes, the Duchess of Hertford was elected in 1723 under the title of Bonduca, and at some time Mrs. Stukeley was also admitted as Cartismandua. This inclusion of women in a learned society of the 1720's is so unprecedented that we may be sure that it was a direct outcome of Stukeley's

¹ The Society was instituted on 23 July 1722 (Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 121) and survived until 1725. Its minutes are in a volume in the library of Capt. William Cragg of Threkingham, and were printed in part by Capt. Cragg in *Lincs. Notes and Queries*, Apr. 1909, p. 177.

² Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 228; Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

³ The list of members in 1722 is as follows: Lord Pembroke (Carvilius), Lord Winchelsea (Cingetorix), Lord Hertford (Segonax), Roger Gale (Venutius), William Stukeley (Chyndonax), James Hill (Caradocus), Samuel Gale (Cunobelinus), William Hulet (Brennus), Vandergucht (Indutiomarus), J. Pine (Adminius), Thomas Bawtree (Scribonius), J. Warburton (Asclepiodotus), Alexander Gordon (Galgacus), Nicholas Haym (Varro), Sir John Clerk (Agricola), and Maurice Johnson (Prasutagus) (Cragg MS.).

characteristically unconventional approach.¹ The women members of the Roman Knights take their honourable place as the first of their sex to belong to an English archaeological society: the Society of Antiquaries waited for almost exactly 200 years before admitting its first woman Fellow.

But the Society of Roman Knights was not intended as a joke, however playful the nicknames. In 1723 Stukeley made a remarkable statement of policy to the 'pretorium', assembled in the Fountain Tavern in the Strand.

With what grief [he said] have these eyes seen the havoc, the desolation, the fate of Roman works, owing to the delusion and abominable superstition of cloyster'd nuns and fryers, what the fury of wars could not demolish, their inglorious hands have destroyed. . . . Whilst others therefore are busying themselves to restore their Gothic Remnants, the glory is reserved for you to adorn and preserve the truly noble monuments of the Romans in Britain. . . . The business of this Society is to search for and illustrate the Roman monuments in the Brittanic Isles. The name of Knights (*equites*) dictates to us that travelling is part of our province and we are so far to answer our title of Roman, as never to return home without conquests. We are to encounter time, Goths and barbarians . . . we are to fight, *pro ara et focus*, to save citys and citysens, camps, temples, walls, ampitheatres, monuments, roads, inscriptions, coyns, buildings, and whatever has a Roman stamp on them. . . . The motto is *Temporis utriusque vindex*, which intimates to us that we are able to be the Secretarys, the interpreters and preservers of the memorials of our ancestors.

Perhaps the most curious thing about this admirable manifesto for a nascent Society of Roman Studies is the attack on those who are concerning themselves with 'Gothic Remnants'. We have seen that Alexander Gordon, *Galgacus* of the Roman Knights, publicly expressed a hope in 1726 that the Society of Antiquaries would 'extirpate *Gothicism*', and it is likely that Stukeley is in fact referring to this Society in his speech, and that his formation of the Roman Knights two or three years after the foundation of the Anti-

¹ Dr. Joan Evans suggests to me that the fact that women were admitted to certain Italian 'Academies' of the time may be relevant in this regard.

quaries was prompted by the lack of interest in Roman and pre-Roman studies he found in the senior body. In this context we can appreciate the underlying significance of Sir John Clerk's complaints about the Society of Antiquaries made to Roger Gale in 1736.

I am sorry to find [he writes] that Gothicism prevails so much in your Society. If your Antiquarians won't entertain a just opinion of it, they won't believe it to be only the degeneracy of Greek and Roman Arts and Sciences. In this view I my self have admired the laborious Dullness and Stupidity which appear in all the Gothick contrivances of any kind. These Barbarians had the originals in full perfection and yet could discover no beauties for their imitation, but Goths will always have a Gothick taste.¹

The Roman Knights did not survive long as an organized body, though the nicknames did, and produced such odd passages in letters as that in the following from Cunobelin (Samuel Gale):

Having been inform'd since the arrival of Prasutagus from the Girvii, of the never enough to be lamented Miscaridge of the incomparable Cartismandua, a Misfortune w^{ch} not only myself but all Albion must be seriously touch'd with, since without doubt we have lost a second Chyndonax, or at least another Boadicea.²

Some of these personages we know already, but with such figures as Segonax and Cingetorix there enter into the Stukeley circle new friends with whom he was to be intimate during the next few years from 1720 onwards. Segonax is Lord Hertford, later to become Duke of Somerset and Earl of Northumberland, a man a few years Stukeley's senior: his country seat was at Marlborough, within a few miles of

¹ Sir John Clerk to Roger Gale, 12 May 1736 (Clerk Papers). The last phrase evidently pleased Sir John: it is in fact the final line of his long unpublished poem *The Country Seat*, which was written in 1727 and was now being revised after the appropriately Horatian nine years. For the changes in the significance of the word 'Gothic' between the 16th and 18th centuries, cf. E. S. de Beer in *Journ. Warburg & Courtauld Insts.* xi (1948), 143-62.

² S. Gale to Stukeley, 3 Aug. 1728 (Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. c. 113, f. 137). This was written after Stukeley's marriage in 1727 and, as we have seen, Cartismandua is Mrs. Stukeley.

Avebury and not more than thirty from Stonehenge.¹ The other is 'Winchelsea, as an Englishman; And as a Briton, Cyngetorix', as the signature runs to a letter from the fifth Earl of Winchelsea to 'Chyndonax'.² The earl was a man of over sixty at this time, but his warm friendship with his 'dear Brother and Venerable Druid' thirty years his junior is apparent in all his letters.³ He and Lord Hertford will be in London soon and 'intend to beat up your quarters' at ten o'clock next Monday morning;⁴ Lord Hertford has asked them both to dine—he will call for Stukeley in his coach and they will go together, taking 'a book of your drawings, and the book in which we write our names and mottoes'⁵: the *Liber Amicorum* sold at the dispersal of the Stukeley papers in 1924 and now untraceable.⁶

Lord Winchelsea lived in Kent: his wife, the famous Anne, had died in 1720, and now he and his chaplain, Mr. Creyk, are alone at Eastwell, where they drink the healths of Stukeley and Roger Gale every night, and during the day explore for antiquities. He writes as a pupil to a master, reporting his activities and hoping they are on the right lines. They set out 'in my chaise, where that will go; and where not, upon our horses', they make notes and take bearings of the Roman road when they come upon it, 'and I have been at Julaber's Grave, which I formerly measured only by my paces but I have now taken it with my measuring-chain, and have all its dimensions very right; and I took its bearings with my compass, and from the top of it I have drawn out a prospect of the country'.⁷ Could an apt pupil,

¹ Algernon Seymour, Lord Hertford (1684-1739/40), *Complete Peerage*, iv. 227. Segonax is the Kentish princeling *Segovax* of Caesar (*Bell. Gall.* v. 22).

² Lord Winchelsea to Stukeley, 14 Oct. 1723 (Nichols, *Illus.*, ii. 769 et seqq.). Cyngetorix is again from Caesar's *Cingetorix*, a Belgic prince (*Bell. Gall.* v. 22).

³ Heneage Finch, fifth Earl of Winchelsea (c. 1656-1726). His wife Anne was well known for her poems (*Complete Peerage*, viii. 179).

⁴ Lord Winchelsea to Stukeley, 1 Jan. 1723/4 (Nichols, loc. cit.).

⁵ From the same to the same, 27 Dec. 1722 (Nichols, loc. cit.).

⁶ Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 15 July 1924, lot 232.

⁷ Lord Winchelsea to Stukeley, 26 Oct. 1723 (Nichols, loc. cit.). Julaber's Grave is a Neolithic long barrow near Chilham (*Antiq. Journ.*, xvii (1937), 122; xix (1939), 260).

even though twice one's own age, have done better? The notes, the measurements, the bearings, the prospect—these are so closely similar to Stukeley's own mode of work that they can only have been the result of explicit directions given by him to Lord Winchelsea. And they are more than that. They are first beginnings of the great tradition of archaeological field-work and survey foreshadowed by Aubrey and continued in Britain to our own times.

In February 1726 Allan Ramsay published a 'SCOTS ODE to the *British Antiquarians*',¹ dedicated to Lord Hertford who was at that time President of the Society of Antiquaries, and celebrating the learned circle of which he was so distinguished a member:

To HARTFORD, and his learned Friends
Whose Fame for Science far extends,
A *Scottish* Muse, her duty sends,
From *Pictish* Towers:
Health, Length of Days, and happy Ends,
Be ever yours.

Thus the opening stanza, and the ode proceeds to more antiquarian detail:

When you the broke Inscription read
Or among antique Ruins tread,
And view Remains of Princes dead
In Funeral Piles,
Your Penetration seems decreed
To bless these Isles.

Where Romans form'd their Camps of old,
Their Gods and Urns of curious Mold,
Their Meddals struck of Brass or Gold,
'Tis you can show
And Truth of what's in Story told,
To you we owe.

Then follows praise of the other noble antiquarians:

¹ *Poems* (London, ed. 1800), i. 138.

BARDS yet unborn shall tune their Lays
 And Monuments Hermonious raise
 To *WINCHELSEA* and *DEVON*'s Praise—

nor is Sir John Clerk of Penicuik forgotten among the antiquaries 'Be North the Wall' who are:

No Strangers to each antique Stage
 And Druids Cells,
 And sacred Ruins of each Age,
 On Plains and Fells.

It is interesting to see that Druids are appearing as an essential part of an antiquarian performance as early as 1726, before Stukeley had published his *Stonehenge* and *Avebury* books, but Ramsay seems to have known something of his work, for there is a verse:

PEMBROKE's a Name to *Britain* dear
 For Learning and brave Deeds of War;
 The Genius still continues clear
 In him whose Art
 In your rare Fellowship can bear
 So great a Part—

and against the words 'In him' Stukeley has placed an asterisk in his own copy of the Ode with the simple footnote in naïve pride—'Stukeley'.¹

Stukeley's boyhood interest in architecture had led him to friendships with designers and builders of houses—the two were hardly yet distinct and 'that ingenious Artist of a Mason' could be used as a fitting description of Townesend, the Oxford builder and architect of the early eighteenth century.² Such another architect-mason was Andrew Jelf,

¹ A copy of the printed Ode with this manuscript footnote is pasted into the manuscript history of the Society of Antiquaries written by Stukeley in 1760 (Keiller MSS.). Ramsay had probably received his archaeological details from Sir John Clerk, who visited Stonehenge in 1727 and had evidently discussed it with Stukeley (*Journey to London 1727* (Clerk Papers); (*Memoirs*, ed. Scottish Hist. Soc., 1892, p. 128).

² For Townesend and his work, see W. G. Hiscock in *Architectural Review*, Oct. 1945.

'my Ingenious Friend', says Stukeley, 'who was sent by the Board of Ordnance to repair and make some Forts in Scotland' at this time.¹ Jelf's work took him to the Antonine Wall, then more usually known as Graham's Dyke, and at Stukeley's request he made measured drawings of a remarkable building which stood not far from Falkirk on the bank of the Carron River.² This structure, known locally as 'Arthur's O'on', or 'Oven', was circular, stone-built of good ashlar, and with a domed roof with central opening, and some sort of much-weathered relief carving over the doorway. It had been known to antiquaries for centuries, and the first literary record is indeed as ancient as the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius in the ninth century, certain manuscripts of which refer to *domumque rotundam politis lapidibus super ripam fluminis Carun*,³ which can hardly be other than Arthur's O'on. The medieval Scottish historians such as John of Fordun⁴ mentioned it, and it was an object of antiquarian interest to the traveller by the end of the seventeenth century.⁵ Jelf's drawings, which were published by Stukeley with a commentary in 1721, are, with those of Alexander Gordon,⁶ among the only records of the structure which exist, for it was demolished in 1743 to repair a mill-dam by Sir Michael Bruce of Stenhouse, 'an ignorant sordid and ungenerous man who, abandoned to covetousness', pulled down this unique monument amid the outcries of the Scottish antiquaries of the day.⁷

Stukeley, in common with other antiquaries of the time, believed Arthur's O'on to be a Roman temple or shrine. It is still somewhat of an enigma, and I am indebted to my

¹ W. Stukeley, *An Account of a Roman Temple and other Antiquities near Grahams-Dike in Scotland* (1720). In the Haverfield Library at Oxford is a set of proofs of this pamphlet, with copious annotations by Stukeley (Shelf-mark 533. 1. G. 12. Fol.).

² Jelf's original drawings are in Bodleian Gough Maps 40, 3537, with Stukeley's annotations.

³ *Mon. Hist. Germ. Chronica Minora*, iii. 165.

⁴ *Scotichronicon*, ii. 16 (fourteenth century).

⁵ See, for instance, the tour of an unknown traveller of 1697 in the Portland MSS. (*Hist. MSS. Comm. 13th Report*, Appendix, part ii, 56).

⁶ *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, pl. 4.

⁷ Maitland, *History of Scotland* (1757), i. 214.

friend, Dr. Ian Richmond, for his views, which tend on the whole to an acceptance of the structure as some sort of Roman shrine, though unique at least as regards the British province of the Empire. Dr. Richmond draws attention to a spring adjacent to the site, which would support the suggestion of a shrine dedicated to a local water-goddess, as is so frequent in North British dedications, and he also notes that on a Roman relief from Rose Hill,¹ on the line of Hadrian's Wall between Carvoran and Birdoswald, there is represented a small domed building not at all unlike Arthur's O'on as we know it from the eighteenth-century drawings.² At all events it prompted Stukeley to make his first published appearance as an antiquarian; he etched plates from Jelf's drawings himself and added a map of the Antonine Wall.

In May 1720 he was at Stonehenge and Avebury with Roger Gale, and in October came a fine surprise to gratify his medical interests. An elephant brought to England from Bencoolen had died after being a very popular public exhibit in London, and Stukeley notes that the beast's disorders had been 'heightened by the great quantity of ale the spectators continually gave it'.³ Sir Hans Sloane secured the carcass and had it brought to his garden in Chelsea where, in bad weather, it was dissected by Sir Hans, Stukeley, and other medical men. Stukeley's skill in drawing was brought to bear on the elephantine anatomy, and he wrote an *Essay towards the Anatomy of the Elephant*, illustrated by his diagrams, which was to be printed in 1723 as an appendix to his other published medical treatise *Of the Spleen, its description and history, uses and diseases, particularly the Vapors, with their remedy*. It was more than fitting that this essentially eighteenth-century production should have prefaced to it Anne,

¹ Illustrated, for instance, in Bruce's *Handbook of the Roman Wall* (10th ed. 1947, ed. I. A. Richmond), p. 162.

² And from the remarkable full-size replica erected as a dovecot and as a part of the stable block at Penicuik House, Midlothian, by Sir James Clerk in 1763. The house at Penicuik (gutted by fire in 1899) and the stables were all built to Sir James's designs, the drawings for which still survive.

³ W. Stukeley, *Essay towards the Anatomy of the Elephant* (1723).

Countess of Winchelsea's *Ode on the Spleen*, inserted by the express leave of the earl. The book consisted of three Gulstonian Lectures read to the College of Physicians in March 1722 and is illustrated with fine, accurately drawn plates. Someone was to tell Hearne in 1725 that this book was 'much commended . . . as having very nice and exact Cuts', but Hearne, who by this time had decided to rank Stukeley among his arch-enemies, rounded on his informant, declared the doctor to be as useless in his own profession as in antiquarian studies, and finally extracted the tactful admission that Stukeley 'had some skill, tho' he was far from being a topping or an eminent Physician'.¹

In the summer of 1721 Stukeley set out with Roger Gale on another tour which began with brief visits to Avebury and Stonehenge on 16-18 August.² On his way down the Kennet valley between Newbury and Marlborough he felt the need of a geological map—'I have often wished', he wrote, 'that a map of soils was accurately made, promising to myself that such a curiosity would furnish us with some new notions of geography, and of the theory of the earth, which has only hitherto been made from hypotheses.'³ He always tended to think in terms of maps and plans and drawings rather than of the written description, and on this is based the greatness of his work as a field archaeologist. Even the fantastic religious theorizing of his later life was as often as not visually presented in elaborate plans of the Ark of the Covenant or Solomon's Temple, drawn with the same precision as he had used in surveying the Avebury circles.

The tour continued to the west, to Gloucester, where he confesses that he is 'much in love with Gothic architecture (as called)',⁴ and on by early September to Hereford; Ludlow by the middle of the month. Then they turn north to

¹ Hearne, *Collections*, ix. 99.

² Avebury drawings dated 16 Aug. 1723 in Bodl. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, ff. 7 verso, 8; Stonehenge, *ibid.*, f. 9.

³ *It. Cur.* 63.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67. Hardly a confession for a Roman Knight to make!

Wolverhampton and Derby, and so to Grantham by the second week in October. The notes of this tour were put together as the *Iter Sabrinum* of the published collection and it is still the journal of the ordinary educated tourist of the eighteenth century rather than that of an archaeologist, with plenty of room for descriptions of how 'Mr. Gale and I disputed a good while about borage quite grown out of cognizance', of the *Euonymus* growing in the Ludlow hedges, or the Welsh harper who played at Leominster 'and at proper intervals threw in many notes of his voice, with a swelling thrill, after a surprising manner, much in the tone of a flute'.¹

The next summer, that of 1722, saw him once again taking to horseback in search of antiquities, and in July he and two friends were making for Avebury.² The friends were artists: one was Gerard Vandergucht, of Dutch ancestry though born in London where he had a business as an etcher and engraver; he was now a young man of twenty-six, and was later to engrave many plates for Stukeley's publications.³ The other was John Pine, like Stukeley in the early thirties and within the next few years to establish his reputation as an engraver of great precision and excellence, to become a personal friend of Hogarth, and, stout and jovial, to be painted as the fat friar in 'The Calais Gate'.⁴ As we have seen, both were to become Roman Knights that summer.

It seems to have been a light-hearted expedition, perhaps rather less restrained and conventional than those made with the Member for Northallerton. They all could draw, and this made a form of entertainment that could be shared—Vandergucht sketched a Mr. Holland of Amesbury on the back of the hotel bill there,⁵ and when at Avebury they were settled in the Catherine Wheel inn, and one evening as Stukeley, sleepy after a hard day's field-work, drowsed off in his chair so that the candle-light threw the modelling of his face into interesting chiaroscuro, he made a brilliant pen-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

² *Diary*, 23 July 1722 (SS iii. 273).

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s.v.

⁴ *Ibid.*; Whitley, *Artists and their Friends* . . . *passim*.

⁵ Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 136, f. 34.

portrait sketch on a page of the doctor's field-notes and measurements.¹ And though undated, I think it was on this visit that Stukeley made the amusing little drawings of the Parish Clerk, Reuben Horsall, and of Tom Robinson the 'Stonekiller', which were to be engraved as tail-pieces in his published account of Avebury, and the sketch of Reuben Horsall's little mongrel dog, which turns up impudently among the Avebury field-notes.²

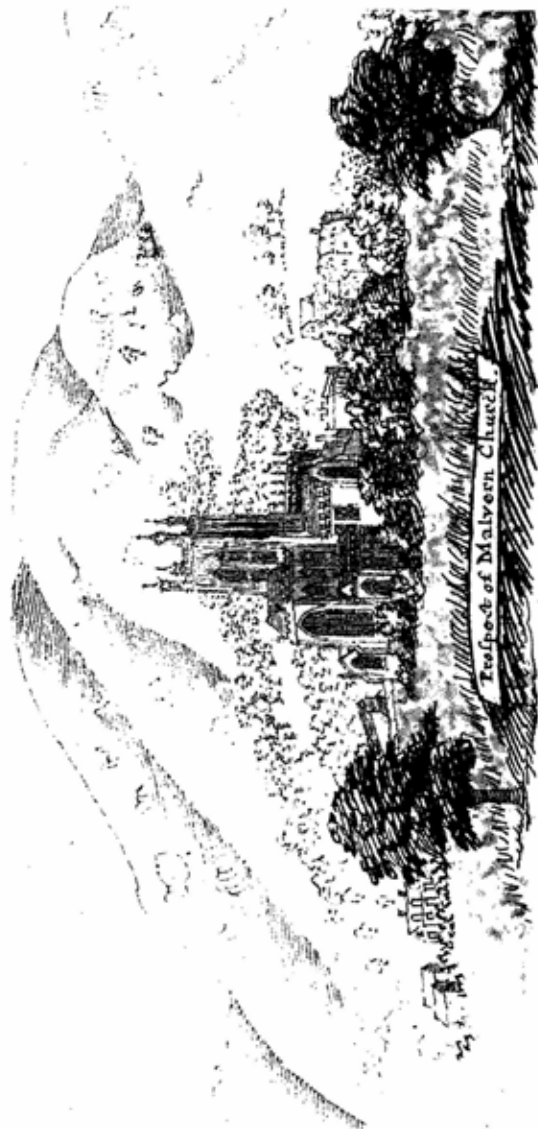
Stukeley's drawings of the 1720's, of which so many survive, show a delightful natural style of draughtsmanship which has become freer and less dry than the careful pen-drawings in the notebooks of 1708-10 (Pl. II). He now often uses a sepia or grey wash in addition to a sensitive pen-outline—'My friend, Dr. Stukeley, draws with a pen, without shading, unless with a little Indian ink or soot wash', wrote Maurice Johnson some years later³—and his 'Prospects' often have a great feeling for the country, and I think are not unworthy to take an honourable, if minor, place in the early history of English landscape drawings. His engravers seldom did justice to his original drawings when translating the mobility of pen-and-wash into the rather arid contemporary technique of line engraving, and Vandergucht alone seems to have preserved something of the odd charm and mystery of the drawings made within the Avebury circles. His figure-drawing was always poor, and sometimes grotesque, but at least lively, and in his wash-drawing of the destruction of a great stone at Avebury, by building a fire under it (see below, p. 112), he has made a splendid spirited composition with an imaginatively decorative handling of the swirling masses of black smoke dominating the scene, with its little ant-like men furiously stoking the blaze under the enormous recumbent stone.

The Catherine Wheel at Avebury (which stood on the opposite side of the road at the central village cross-roads to the present inn, the Red Lion) now displayed on its walls

¹ Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 244.

² Ibid., f. 225.v

³ Maurice Johnson to Peter le Neve, 5 July 1746. Nichols, *Bibl. Top. Brit.* iii.



DRAWING BY STUKELEY OF MALVERN CHURCH, 1721



drawings presented to the landlord by Stukeley—a view of the south entrance of Avebury drawn in 1722, and one of the stones in the centre of the north inner circle, made in the previous year, and a portrait of Reuben Horsall. These were seen there seven years later by a Mr. Loveday, and he passed on the information to Hearne, who, allowing his passion for accurate record to get the better of his dislike of Stukeley, carefully transcribed in full the titles of the drawings into his diary.¹

From Avebury Stukeley went on to Stonehenge, perhaps by himself, as from now on there is no record of Pine and Vandergucht accompanying him. They may well have taken coach back to London after seeing Avebury, to which they must have come as a result of Stukeley's enthusiastic conversation in London. Even the single visit would have helped Vandergucht to preserve, in his engravings of Stukeley's drawings, something more of the spirit of the place than might otherwise have been possible.² Stukeley then returned to London via Silchester, and seems to have set off almost immediately on another tour, which took him to Cambridge, Boston, Lincoln, Dunstable, and Leominster, where he arrived on 14 September, but by the beginning of October he was in Rochester, and made a Kentish tour which lasted until the middle of the month.

The greater part of this year's expeditions, omitting the Avebury and Stonehenge work, he combined into one *Iter Romanum* which was dedicated to the Earl of Winchelsea.³ It was made almost entirely along the lines of Roman roads, the larger part between London and Lincoln, and the Kentish part of the tour continuing to Dover. This, then, was an avowedly archaeological tour, and the published account leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader that he is being

¹ Hearne, *Collections*, x. 187 (entry of 13 Oct. 1729).

² The Stonehenge engravings are on the whole less successful than those of Avebury: several engravers, many anonymous, worked on Stukeley's plates.

³ The itinerary of this tour can be reconstructed from the dated plates in the *Itinerarium* and drawings in Bodl. MSS. Top. gen. b. 53, Top. eccles. d. 6, and Gen. top. d. 14.

taken along the Roman road by a guide who has little time for antiquities after the Occupation, or for curiosities by the wayside. Stukeley's eye for the geography of archaeology appreciated the antiquities he saw in their relation to the country-side—at Royston he noted how: 'These high chalk hills, having a fine prospect northwards, are covered with a beautiful turf like the Wiltshire downs, and have such like barrows here and there, and indeed are but a continuation of them quite a-cross the kingdom',¹ and one meets with passages of accurate and enthusiastic description as when he observes the Roman road in section near Lincoln:

I saw the true profile of the road broke off by the wearing away of the ground: it is about thirty feet broad, made of stone piled up into an easy convexity; there is likewise generally a little trench dug in the natural earth along both sides of the road, which is of great use in conducting the water that falls from the heavens into the vallies upon the long side of the road both ways, and prevents its lodging and stagnating against the side of their work: the turf that came out of those trenches they threw upon the road to cover it with grass: thus had they all the curious and convenient ways for beauty, use and perpetuity.²

One regrets to notice, however, that although he has in his possession a 'long and particular catalogue' of coins from Castor, he thinks it a 'nauseous formality to print them', and only gives a selection of silver types.³ At Barrow-on-Humber he construes certain probably medieval earthworks into 'a temple of the old Britons'—the first of the 'alate temples' upon which he was to speculate so long and so unwisely in later years.⁴ He does not describe it in detail, deferring it to another occasion and so indicating that the idea of a book dealing with the ancient British sacred sites was already in his mind.

At Dunstable he gives once again a good instance of his sound topographical and common-sense approach to pre-

¹ *It. Cur.* 77.

³ *Ibid.* 83.

² *Ibid.* 87-8.

⁴ *Ibid.* 99.

historic monuments. The prehistoric hill-fort of Maiden Bower had been claimed as Roman, but

I am persuaded it is a British work, like that at Ashwell, at like distance from the Chiltern, and of like form, but more circular. . . . Between here and the town is a long barrow called the Mill-hill, no doubt from a mill which was afterwards set upon it: it stands east and west: the ends of it ploughed somewhat: I have no scruple in supposing it Celtic. A high prominence of the Chiltern overlooks all, called the Five Knolls, from that number of barrows, or Celtic *tumuli*, round, pretty large, and ditched upon the very *apex* of the hill. . . . This great tract of chalk comes from the eastern sea, and traverses the kingdom in a like direction with the Icening-street.¹

With 'Celtic' as a quite reasonable non-committal word for 'Pre-Roman' this account is really surprisingly adequate and most sensible, and any archaeologist who has an acquaintance with the older literature of British antiquities will admit that far less satisfactory passages are the common form of much nineteenth and even early twentieth century productions.

The tours of 1723,² which were published as the *Iter Dumnoniense* and the *Iter Septimum Antonini Aug.*, were purely archaeological except for an inserted account of the eclipse of the sun which he recorded on Haradon Hill in Wiltshire and dedicated to Halley. The first tour deals almost entirely with pre-Roman sites: he had gone to Marlborough via Newbury at the end of June and probably stayed with Lord Hertford, but went on to spend about three weeks at Avebury again, staying at the Catherine Wheel.³ He made a short excursion from here to Stanton Drew, in Somerset, to see the remarkable stone circles there under the guidance of his friend, John Strachey, a neighbouring landowner of antiquarian and scientific interests who had

¹ Ibid. 115.

² Reconstructed from the published text and dated plates in the *Itinerarium* with a few drawings in Bodl. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6 and Top. gen. d. 14.

³ Lord Winchelsea to Stukeley, 12 July 1723 (Nicholas, *Illus.* ii. 769 ff.; SS iii. 244).

probably come in contact with Stukeley at the Royal Society,¹ and Stukeley was back in Wiltshire by the beginning of August. The stone circles at Stanton Drew have never received modern scientific excavation: they present most interesting analogies to Avebury in having avenues of approach as well as a setting of three stones similar to that in the centre of the northern inner circle at Avebury. Like Avebury, they are presumably Early Bronze Age in date, and probably monuments of the Beaker culture, but without excavation we can advance little from Stukeley's original description two centuries ago. The results of all this field-work, and some at Stonehenge, are omitted from the *Itinerarium Curiosum* and reserved for a separate work. The *Iter Dumnoniense* is dedicated to Lord Pembroke, with whom he stayed at Wilton after his return from Stanton Drew and who seems to have suggested some of the places to visit in Dorset. While at Wilton in this and the following year he commenced a catalogue of the antique marbles and sculpture there, but this was to come to little, for he noted some years later:

I intended to have wrote an account of my Lord Pembrokes Antiquitys about this time, with good designs of them, and had taken many drawings of them. This book was the groundplot. My Lord sent for it and transposed the leaves, put out and in, what he pleased, and so confounded my scheme that I left it off.²

Some account of the collection was, however, included in the *Itinerarium*.

The greater part of these two tours, however, deals with earthworks, mainly hill-forts, and barrows, and contains some interesting comments on these antiquities. The archaeological research of the last two decades has resulted in a secure dating for the majority of hill-top fortifications, so often

¹ For Strachey, see below, p. 96. An account of the Stanton Drew circles was written in 1723 as 'The Weddings', but not published until the posthumous 1776 edition of the *Itinerarium*.

² This note was written c. 1740 by Stukeley inside the cover of the attempted catalogue (Bodl. MS. Top. Wilts. e. 6).

miscalled in the past 'Roman Camps', as the work of the Celtic Iron Age people between the fourth and first centuries B.C., while in the main the round barrows of the Wessex chalk are attributable to the Bronze Age, ranging over the wide chronological limits of c. 1900-1000 B.C. Stukeley thought that many of the Iron Age hill-forts of Wessex must be Roman—even Maiden Castle has 'a double ditch savouring of inferior times of the empire'¹—though he thinks some of them may be attributed to the Belgae (an Iron Age tribe of the first century B.C.). Stukeley's views on the course of prehistory in Wessex, as he held them in the 1720's, can be pieced together from several scattered references in his writings, and are of some interest. 'The incredible number of barrows that over-spread this country from the sea-side to North Wiltshire', he writes, 'persuades me a great people inhabited here before the *Belgae*, that came from Spain, which we may call the *Albionites*.'² The Belgic invasion, documented by Caesar, was the one fixed point he could turn to before the Roman Conquest. Later he was to identify the Albionites with the Phoenicians,³ but, however fantastic all this may sound to-day, it is important to appreciate that he had some grasp of a prehistoric perspective back beyond the Romans, back even beyond the Belgae. Stone circles and barrows he considered pre-Belgic, therefore presumably Albionite, though the word is not used except in the one quotation made above, and 'Celtic' or 'Druidic' seems to take its place. He rightly noted from field observations that at Vespasian's Camp near Amesbury, and at Poundbury near Dorchester, Bronze Age ('Celtic') round barrows are earlier than the Early Iron Age hill-forts, though he seems to regard both these examples as Roman.⁴ He further noted that Roman roads cut through Bronze Age disk ('Druid') barrows near Beckhampton in north Wiltshire⁵ and at Oakley Down on Cranborne Chase.⁶ To successive

¹ *It. Cur.* 163.² *Ibid.* 189.³ In *Abury* (1743), *passim*.⁴ *It. Cur.* 138, 188. For the recent excavations at Poundbury, see *Antiq. Journ.* xx. (1940), 429.⁵ *It. Cur.* 141.⁶ *Ibid.* 188.

stages in the Belgic occupation of Wessex he attributed the series of large banks and ditches, or dykes, with a general east to west line and represented by Combs Ditch near Blandford, Bokerly Dyke along the north edge of Cranborne Chase on the Dorset-Wiltshire border, the dykes running south of Stonehenge, and finally Wansdyke along the crest of the North Wiltshire Downs above the Vale of Pewsey—not really an unreasonable interpretation considering the knowledge at his disposal. One of his reasons for making Stonehenge pre-Belgic is that, as its sarsens are derived from north Wiltshire, this area would be beyond the final territorial limits of Belgic power as defined by Wansdyke, and therefore free access from the site of Stonehenge impossible except at an earlier date.¹

Of these four dykes, all falling into the class known to archaeology as linear earthworks, two have been excavated, Bokerly Dyke and Wansdyke. Bokerly Dyke has been shown to be a Romano-British work of three periods within the fourth century A.D., beginning in 325–30 as a part of the boundaries of a Roman Imperial estate, but adapted in 367–70 and again in 400–5 to form a defensive work cutting the line of the Roman road from Sarum to Dorchester. Wansdyke was built in the fifth century A.D. as a northern frontier-work defending the still romanized province lying to the south against the Saxons of the Upper Thames. Combs Ditch has not been excavated, but has more of the character of the Late Bronze Age boundary earthworks of about the eighth century B.C. known elsewhere in Wessex, and the same applies to the banks and ditches near Stonehenge.²

Stukeley's ideas are, I think, in no way discreditable, and

¹ *It. Cur.* 189, *Stonehenge*, *passim*. These views were adopted by Edwin Guest in the 1850's (*Arch. Journ.* viii (1851), 143) more or less without acknowledgement of their source.

² For Bokerly and Wansdyke see Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, vol. iii, and (very important) C. F. C. Hawkes in *Arch. Journ.* civ (1947) 62; for Combs Ditch, Sumner, *Local Papers* (1931), pp. 89–105; for Late Bronze Age ditches in Wessex, Hawkes in *Proc. Hants. Field Club*, xiv (1939), 136, and C. M. Piggott in *Antiquity*, xviii (1944), 65.

contain, in their muddled way, a perception of certain basic archaeological principles. The first, as I have said, is the recognition of a long pre-Roman period over which the field antiquities could be distributed, a second is the appreciation of the possibility that various prehistoric cultures might arrive in southern England by means of invasions or immigrations from the Continent, and a third is the application of the geographical and topographical method to the study of a group of related structures (the linear earthworks) in order to interpret them as a coherent whole in the light of such historical knowledge as was available. The observation of the relative dating of two contiguous earthworks such as the barrows and the Roman road is, of course, as fundamental to archaeological field-work to-day as it was in the eighteenth century.

Stukeley made one very interesting comment with regard to Bronze Age barrows in Wiltshire, and recorded it among his miscellaneous Avebury notes. 'I observe', he wrote, 'the barrows upon Hakpen Hill and others are set with great art not upon the very highest part of the hills but upon so much of the declivity or edge as that they make app[earance] as above to those in the valley.'¹ This siting of barrows upon 'false crests', which is frequent in many parts of Britain, was, it seems, not noticed again until recent years, when Sir Cyril Fox brought the evidence of archaeology and geology to show 'that barrows sited on false crest lines were intended to be seen from some point below them, and that the position of a barrow thus gives an indication of the direction in which the homes of its builders should be sought'. In discussing this phenomenon, Sir Cyril pays a tribute to Stukeley's remarkable percipience in noticing this detail: it is indeed a first-rate example of his soundness as a field archaeologist.²

At the Iron Age camp of Figsbury, near Salisbury (now

¹ Among the *Avebury Drawings* (Keiller MSS.).

² *Arch. Journ.* xcix (1943), 22. In one instance in south Wales it was possible to prove geologically that all the materials of a Bronze Age cairn on a false crest were derived from the side from which it was sited.

known from excavation to be of the fourth century B.C.), Stukeley was again able to make some interesting comments based on sound observation. True, he christened the site Chloridunum (from Constantius Chlorus, whom he imagined to be its builder), but he noticed that the rampart seemed to be too high to be satisfactorily accounted for by its ditch, and suggested that it had been heightened by material taken from an inner quarry ditch some distance within the circuit of the main defences.¹ This is precisely the sequence which has since been discovered by excavation of the site,² and Stukeley's only mistake (except the supposition of Roman date) is his belief that an actual rampart had been moved from the edge of the inner ditch in enlarging the camp, whereas in fact the inner ditch was solely a quarry to provide material which was taken direct to enlarge the original defences.

In his travels over the Wiltshire and Dorset downs he could not fail to observe the constant traces of ancient grass-grown field-systems with numerous small square fields defined by baulks or, on the slopes, terraces. These he noted inside the hill-fort of Ogbury, between Amesbury and Salisbury:

within it are many little banks, carried strait and meeting one another at right angles, square, oblong parallels and some oblique, as the meres and divisions between ploughed lands; yet it seems never to have been ploughed.³

and again on Cranborne Chase he writes:

I frequently observed on the sides of hills long divisions, very strait, crossing one another with all kinds of angles; they look like the baulks or meres of ploughed lands, and are really made of flint overgrown with turf: they are too small for ploughed lands, unless of the most ancient Britons, who dealt little that way.³

What Stukeley had described are now recognized as the

¹ *It. Cur.* 137.

² Cunnington in *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xliii (1925), 48-51. Colt Hoare in the early nineteenth century interpreted the site quite correctly (*Ancient Wilt.* i. 217-18).

³ *It. Cur.* 138.

prehistoric field-systems of agriculturists ploughing small fields on the chalk uplands in the long period ranging from the Late Bronze Age (about the eighth century B.C.) up to and during the Roman occupation in the first four centuries A.D. The type persists throughout this long time relatively unchanged, and excavation is the only method of providing a date within these broad limits. At Ogbury the fields are fitted into the circuit of the ramparts of the Iron Age hill-fort,¹ and are therefore later, probably dating from the years when the Pax Romana had rendered the old fortifications, built in the days of insecurity and inter-tribal wars, obsolete. When the ploughing took place on a slope there was a constant creep of loosened plough-soil downhill, to pile up on the lower edge of the field and to form there a terrace or lynchet. The flints noted by Stukeley as occurring in the field divisions are, of course, stones collected off the fields during their cultivation and dumped conveniently on the boundary. His reluctance to accept these as ancient field-systems was perhaps the result of familiarity with a landscape in which the large open fields of pre-inclosure days were still the normal units of farming, and had he been a Cornishman or Welshman he might have had more acquaintance with the small square Celtic fields which still remained in these regions.

In the west he looked at Bath, and at Exeter visited Dr. Musgrave, the author of treatises on rheumatism and the *Antiquitates Britanno-Belgicae* (1719). Turning then towards Dorset he came to Dorchester, where he found an antiquity much to his taste in the Roman amphitheatre known as Maumbury Rings. Stukeley had become a Freemason in January 1721, and by 1723 was Master of the Lodge meeting at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand—the same inn at which the early meetings of the Society of Antiquaries were held—and he wrote a full account of the Dorchester amphitheatre which he read to this Lodge in October 1723

¹ For Ogbury and its fields, see *Wessex from the Air*, p. 150; for prehistoric fields in general, cf. Curwen in *Proc. Prehis. Soc.* iv (1938), 27.

and subsequently had printed as a pamphlet, *Of the Roman Amphitheater at Dorchester*, illustrated with a ground-plan of the monument.¹ This account is also included in the *Iter Dumnoniense* as a separate essay. The site of Maumbury Rings has been excavated, and was found to consist of a Late Neolithic embanked circular shrine of a well-known type, which had been altered and adapted in Roman times to serve as an amphitheatre for the adjoining town of Dorchester (Durnovaria). It was later further adapted as a gun position during the Civil Wars.² Stukeley's plan is a very schematic and 'reconstructed' rendering of the monument.

The tour continued eastward, Stukeley inquiring and noting anything he thought of interest on the way. 'It pleases me to inquire the names of these old things, however aukward', he writes in defence of his record of the name of a barrow as Bols Turret,³ and he gives us a glimpse of his gossiping about the local antiquities to the landlady of the Rose Inn at Gussage All Saints in Cranborne Chase who, 'after some discourse preparatory', told him a muddled tale about Roman remains and the legend of the seven churches of Knowlton, and ended by pointing to the tale of Troy 'described in the ballad upon her wall, where she showed me these passionate verses,

Waste lie those walls that were so good
And corn now grows where Troy towers stood'.

It is pleasant to think of this echo of *iam seges ubi Troia fuit* in an eighteenth-century Dorset ale-house.⁴

¹ For Stukeley's Masonic career, see Gould in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, vi; A. M. Broadley, *The Visit of W. Bro. Dr. W. Stukeley to Dorchester* (privately printed, Weymouth, 1913). Broadley reprints Stukeley's account of the amphitheatre from a copy in the British Museum library: it was reproduced in facsimile by the Quatuor Coronati Lodge in 1925.

² H. St. G. Gray in *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* xxix-xxxv; S. and C. M. Piggott in *Antiquity*, xiii (1939), 155.

³ *It. Cur.* 184.

⁴ I had taken the reference to be to a printed broadsheet pinned up on the wall of the inn—cf. the seventeenth-century satirical lines—

'Who writes a ballad for an ale-house door
Will live in future times for evermore,'—

but Mr. J. N. L. Myres suggests to me the interesting possibility that the Rose at

Passing through Portsmouth, where he gives a very enthusiastic but quite non-archaeological description of the British line-of-battle fleet,¹ he came to Chichester, and inserts a dissertation on the *Cogidubnus* inscription by Roger Gale. He returns through Midhurst and Farnham to Staines and London. Near Staines he recorded a rectangular earth-work (of uncertain date) which was later to be obliterated by ploughing and 'lost' until rediscovered by air photography two centuries later.²

In the intervals of these tours he had not been without his archaeological life in London. He introduced Lord Hertford and Lord Winchelsea to the Society of Antiquaries in January 1723,³ and may have taken part in those remarkable book-hunting expeditions in Paternoster Row in which Lord Winchelsea joined the Duke of Devonshire and the Earls of Oxford, Pembroke, and Sutherland in a search for rare books and manuscripts.⁴ Stukeley was now Secretary of the Antiquaries,⁵ and was becoming interested in the pre-Roman British coinage. In 1721-2 a series of Committees of the Society had been set up to collect material for a *Metallographia Britannica*, with Stukeley and Lord Winchelsea responsible for the British coins, Roger Gale on the Roman committee, Humphrey Wanley solely responsible for the Saxon coins, and Samuel Gale for Danish, while Lord Hertford sat on the larger Committee for English coins.⁶ We have seen that in 1722 the 'Roman Knights' had been founded to study Roman Britain.

The Royal Society still included much antiquarian material

Gussage may have been decorated with Elizabethan mural paintings with black-letter distichs of a type well known in, for example, representations of the Nine Worthies. The house is not now identifiable.

¹ *It. Cur.* 193.

² *Antiquity*, vii (1933), 290.

³ Diary, 20 Dec. 1723 (SS i. 72).

⁴ Douglas, *English Scholars*, 338.

⁵ He remained so until 1726, when he left London (Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* v. 333). Alexander Gordon succeeded him.

⁶ Soc. Antiqs. Minute Book I, 3 Jan. 1721/2; 1 Apr. 1722; 30 May 1722. Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi. 157.

within its scope, and even Freemasonry was approached by Stukeley from its archaeological aspect, 'suspecting it to be remains of the mysterys of the antients'.¹ Apart from these more or less formal meetings there was learned gossip about antiquities to be had on informal occasions, such as in the Grecian Coffee-house with the grave Ralph Thoresby, who on one occasion, when Stukeley was laid up with the gout, came with Samuel Gale to visit him in his house and to be shown drawings made during the tours of the preceding summers.²

In 1724 he made several tours, of which little survives save the dated drawings, or the engravings from them published posthumously in the second edition of the *Itinerarium Curiosum* in 1776.³ There was another visit to Avebury and Stonehenge, returning by Ringwood and Romsey in June, and a month later he went to Lincoln via Stevenage, Stamford, and Ancaster, and in October to Kent. In September he made a visit to Oxford, the first since 1710, and there met Thomas Hearne. For some years before this meeting Hearne had been fretting and fuming in his diary about Stukeley, and doubtless complaining still more querulously to his Oxford cronies. Stukeley in 1722 'is a very fancifull Man and the Things he hath published are built upon fancy. He is looked upon as a Man of no great Authority, and his Reputation dwindles every day, as I have learn'd from very good hands.'⁴ The decline in Stukeley's reputation seems entirely wishful thinking on Hearne's part—it was at this time steadily on the rise—but every few months he felt impelled to put in another charge of 'fancifullness'—his drawings are inaccurate, he is hypothetical and conceited, he cannot copy inscriptions accurately. Small wonder then that the interview in 1724 was not a success, and the next

¹ *Abstract of my Life* (SS i. 51).

² *Diary of Ralph Thoresby 1677-1724* (ed. Hunter 1830), ii, pp. 323, 359, 380.

³ The tour is reconstructed from these and dated drawings in Bodl. MSS. Top. eccles. d. 6; Top. gen. d. 14; Top. gen. b. 53.

⁴ Hearne, *Collections*, viii. 4.

day Hearne wrote in his best cross-grained style about the visit:

This Dr. S. is a mighty conceited man, and 'tis observed by all that I have talked with that what he does hath no manner of likeness to the original. He goes all by fancy. Hence his cut of Waltham Cross is not one bit like it; nor indeed is the print of old Verulam any thing but meer fancy. In short as he addicts himself to fancy altogether what he does must have no regard among judicious and truly ingenious men. He told me he had been at Thame thinking it was a Roman City. Good God! This is nothing but idle dreaming. How is it possible to think at this rate? . . . Though he be a Physician, yet I am informed he knows very little or nothing of the matter.¹

The Waltham Cross drawing does as a matter of fact seem to have been a perfectly good representation of the structure, but Hearne also noted that Stukeley showed him a plan of the walls of the Roman town of Silchester which bore little resemblance to the original, and here it must be confessed Hearne is absolutely right. Stukeley's plan of Silchester² makes it into a regular oblong with rounded corners, whereas the actual site is an irregular polygon. There is little excuse to be made, for the remains are conspicuous and complete on the ground even though their polygonal plan is not immediately apparent, and Stukeley visited Silchester more than once. Nor does the plan as he erroneously gives it support any theories or assist an argument. It is quite inexplicable except as sheer carelessness. Hearne's judgement of Stukeley as 'fanciful' is curiously prophetic when one remembers that, though now in the 1720's he was doing excellent objective work, in later years he was to merit Hearne's criticisms to the fullest degree. Stukeley's conversation at least must at all times have been imaginative and rather fantastic.

It is interesting to note that when Sir John Clerk in his *Memoirs* records his friendship with Roger Gale and Stukeley, he adds, 'Both were Authors of several good things, particularly the last, tho' not so learned and judicious a Man

¹ Ibid. 265.

² Published in *It. Cur.* Tab. 61, opp. p. 177

as the first.¹ By the 1750's quite vigorous criticism was being expressed by careful local observers such as Hutchins, the historian of Dorset, and Richard Willis of Andover, who wrote to Stukeley taking him to task for errors in the *Itinerarium* where the local antiquities are concerned (such as the line of the Silchester-Sarum Roman road).² No reply was received to his letter, but ten years later he returned to the attack with specific criticism of the Silchester plan—'How could you publish the plate in your *Itineraria*', Willis writes, 'inscribed Stukeley designavit, make it a Parallelogram (as it is a Nonagon of nine unequal sides and angles) and say (pag. 170) "tis a parallelogram".'³

In January 1725 Stukeley published a collection of seven of his tours made between 1710 and 1723 as *Itinerarium Curiosum Centuria I*, with a sub-title *An Account of the Antiquities and remarkable Curiosities in Nature or Art observed in Travels through Great Britain*.⁴ The tours were illustrated with engravings made by Vandergucht and others, and adorned with an emblematical frontispiece of classical design with a bust of Stukeley superimposed in a rather surrealist manner on the plinth of a broken Ionic pillar.

We have in the foregoing pages examined the content of these tours, and noted their faults as well as their virtues, but Hearne was not the man to admit that they could have any merit at all. It was a wonderful opportunity, not to be missed; he must have cackled with glee as he told Whiteside of the Ashmolean and West of Balliol of the book 'w^{ch} some very deservedly call Dr. Stukeley's hundred Fancies' and which was 'universally condemn'd as strange, weak, ridiculous stuff'.⁵ He had not seen the book himself, and did not want to; it did not sell well, he was glad to say, but a review he had read showed him it was as bad as he had anticipated. By

¹ *Memoirs* (Scottish Hist. Soc. 1892), p. 122.

² Richard Willis to Stukeley, 18 September 1750 (Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. c. 114, f. 323).

³ Richard Willis to Stukeley, 11 July 1760 (*ibid.*, f. 325).

⁴ Stukeley planned a *Centuria II*, of which an incomplete draft dated 1760 exists (Soc. Ant. MS. 494 (2)), but this was neither completed nor published.

⁵ Hearne, *Collections*, viii. 383.

devious inquiries he found that the review had been written by Stukeley himself, which only made it worse.¹ Best of all, he had discovered that Stukeley was friendly with a man in Oxford he disliked, which gave a chance for a passage in the diary in the finest Hearne manner:

One of the Dr.'s Acquaintance is one Turner of Merton College (at least, he was very lately of that College), a Clergyman, a great Pretender to Antiquities, but most certainly a very impudent, debauch'd, drunken, lying, lewd Wretch, a Buffoon, and a very great Crony of that impudent, saucy, brazen-faced Rascal, Bowles. Both these Fellows are Scandals to their Profession and their Gowns.²

Hearne was as painstaking in the cultivation of his dislikes as in his editing of medieval texts.

The summer of 1725 saw Stukeley and Roger Gale setting out on what was to be the last of the great series of antiquarian journeys the former was to make.³ It was also the longest, and took Stukeley to new regions in North Britain, but it does not contain very much of moment save for descriptions of several stone circles and allied monuments, and an account of their journey along the Roman Wall. They went by Dunstable up into the Midlands—Coventry, Birmingham, Derby, Buxton—and so westwards to Chester, and then striking north made for Liverpool and the Cumberland hills. It is interesting to read Stukeley's notes on the Lake District written fifty years before the popular discovery of the picturesque excitements of mountains and wild country: Windermere is noticed principally for its potted char and the rain—'This country is exceedingly obnoxious to rain, and some of the hill-tops on one side or other are perpetually covered with cloud.'⁴ But Ullswater appealed to the latent romantic in Stukeley—'When one stands at the end of these lakes', he writes, 'the prospect is exceeding delightful; the mountains on each side rising to a great

¹ Ibid. 350, 357; ix. 15.

² Ibid. 23.

³ Published as 'Iter Boreale' in the 1776 edition of the *Itinerarium*. The original manuscript volume of the journal is in the Keiller MSS. (*Iter. MS.* 1725).

⁴ *It. Cur.* 41.

height, one behind another the whole length, and broke off into short ones, like the scenes at a playhouse: nor need a painter go to Italy for variety and grandeur of prospects.'¹

In Cumberland and Westmorland he was able to examine several stone circles and allied monuments—at Shap he thought he could trace a system of avenues in the Avebury manner, and he made notes and drawings of Long Meg and her Daughters ('A great Celtic temple')² and the Keswick stone circle, as well as the Bronze Age circular monuments at Mayborough and Arthur's Round Table, that had already been noted by Dugdale. Thence via Whitehaven they came to the Wall, and made their way along it past Housesteads to Newcastle, returning southwards through Durham to the country seat of the Gales at Scruton in Yorkshire, and then past the Devil's Arrows at Boroughbridge to Doncaster, where the tour ended.

The Roman Wall, as might be expected, made a deep impression on Stukeley. He and Gale enthusiastically copied inscriptions and recorded sites, but never had the majesty of the Empire made itself so overshadowingly apparent to him. The Wall dominated his thoughts and he was to conclude his *Iter Boreale* with a passage which has a dual significance as a piece of excellent and dignified prose and as in some sense a valedictory postscript to his real archaeological studies:

The amazing scene of Roman grandeur in Britain which I beheld this journey, the more it occurred with pleasure to my own imagination, the more I despaired of conveying it to the reader in a proper light by a rehearsal. It is easy for some nations to magnify trifles, and in

¹ *It. Cur.* 48. Potted char had been recognized as an attraction of the Lake District since the time of Celia Fiennes's visit in the late seventeenth century, but the appreciation of the romantic elements in the landscape seems not to date before the late 30's of the eighteenth (cf. C. Hussey, *The Picturesque*, 97).

² For the megalithic remains at Shap, see *Royal Com. Hist. Mons. Westmorland Inventory* (1936), p. 206. Avenues may have existed, but the site is much destroyed and scattered over a large area. Stukeley wrote up a separate account of Shap in c. 1750–60, embodying his 'serpentine' theories (Keiller MS. *Shap*, 1725). Cf. Crawford in *Antiquity*, viii (1934), 328–9, for the accuracy of the Long Meg drawings.

words gild over inconsiderable transactions till they swell to the appearance of an history; and some moderns have gone great lengths that way; but if in any people action has outdone the capacity of rhetoric, or in any place they have left historians far behind in their valour and military performances, it was in our own country; and we are as much surprised in finding such infinite reliques of theirs here, as that we have no history of them that speaks with any particularity of the last 300 years that the Romans dwelt in Britain, and rendered it perfectly provincial. The learned memoirs are very short; and it is well they were guided with such a spirit, as left monuments sufficient to supply that defect, when handled as they deserve; though I have no hope of coming up to that, yet I hold myself obliged to preserve, as well as I can, the memory of such things as I saw; which, added to what future times will discover, will revive the Roman glory among us, and may serve to invite noble minds to endeavour to that merit and public-spiritedness which shine through all their actions. This tribute at least we owe them, and they deserve it at our hands, to preserve their remains.¹

He was to make no more archaeological tours,² and the antiquarian researches he carried on for the remainder of his life were to be a sad falling-off from his work of earlier years. Already some curious restlessness was touching him: by the end of the year he had decided to leave London for the country and by the early summer of 1726 he had taken a house in Grantham.

The reasons behind Stukeley's decision to move from London into the country are obscure and there is no overt reference to them in his papers.³ The impulse seems to have been a sudden one, to judge from a long letter he wrote to Samuel Gale in February 1726/7, but his enthusiasm and delight in his new house and garden is no less apparent. He is planting 'greens, flowers, alcoves, herbs, fruit trees and

¹ *It. Cur.* 76-7.

² He wrote on a sketch of the hills near Wye in Kent, 'The last of my expeditions', with the date 28 May 1726, but this must be an error for 1725 when he was in this part of Kent between 24 May and 5 June (*Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints*, iii).

³ In his retrospective journal of this period of his life he refers to the 'irresistible impulse' that prompted him to leave London, and makes an odd reference to the decision being made as he gazed one night at the Milky Way (SS i. 77).

what not', fitting up his study indoors, fixing 'four bustos, after the antique, on termini between doric pillasters' in his hall, riding round to visit his neighbours on his horse, Squire Dick,¹ and looking forward to the amenities of a 'monthly assembly for dancing among the fair sex, and a weekly meeting for conversation among the gentlemen'. Throughout his lifetime his enthusiasm for gardening came second only to that for his antiquarian studies—he tells Gale, 'I have worked so hard in my garden as to sweat out all the London fog, am become vastly athletic . . . my antient country complexion is returned to my cheeks . . . my lips recover their pristin red, and my own locks, moderately curled, resemble the Egyptian picture of Orus Apollo, or the emblem of rejuvenescence.'² Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, the Scottish antiquary, paid him an unexpected visit one day when he was settling in at Grantham and recorded the visit in his journal.³

We came to Grantham to dinner [he writes] and for the Sake of seeing my Learned Correspondent Dr. Stukeley. I stayed there all the afternoon. So soon as I lighted I went to find out the Doctor at his owne house. He was at home and as rough and dirty as a bear. He would not dine with me but invited me to dine with him which I cou'd not comply with because of my fellowe Travellers. I return'd to the Doctor in the afternoon drank coffee and took a turn with him about his Gardens. At night he suped with me and my frendes at our Inn and we rose all much delighted with his company.

The Doctor is a very Learned Physitian Phylosopher Mathematician Poet and Antiquarian. He designs very well and in the afternoon when I stayed with him he took a Scetch of my face which every body said was very like. He has written several things but not meeting with the encouragement he expected from the publick he has withdrawn himself from London to live privately at Grantham having a Little Estate of 150 lb. per ann with no Family and a little business in his profession.

¹ This horse was so named from his being 'a Roman squire, under the appellative and title of Squire Dick' and so a junior member of the Society of Roman Knights (Stukeley to S. Gale, 6 Feb. 1726/7; SS i. 190).

² Stukeley to S. Gale, 6 Feb. 1726/7 (SS i. 188).

³ *Journey to London in 1727* (Clerk Papers).

Stukeley had been gardening on this occasion, as Sir John makes clear when he reported the meeting to Roger Gale later, and this was why 'never rural god appeared so rough and dirty'; it is interesting to learn of one reason at least for his retirement from London. He seems to have been disappointed in his hopes of establishing himself as a leading antiquary, though characteristically he never admits this in his own writings, and Sir John felt that it 'is a pity he does not meet with some public encouragement, he would make an excellent geographer'.¹ His appreciation of Stukeley's geographical approach to problems of antiquity is interesting and perceptive.

Sir John Clerk was not his only visitor in these early days of his country retirement. In May the Duke of Bedford breakfasted with him, and Isaac Whood, the portrait painter to whom the duke was patron and who had accompanied him on the visit, drew a convincing pencil profile of Stukeley with an ivy wreath in his hair;² later in the summer the Earl of Oxford and George Vertue came to see him.³ But towards the end of the year, and perhaps as a result of those monthly dances for the fair sex, we suddenly find Stukeley married to a local gentleman's daughter, Frances Williamson of Allington. Little is known of the circumstances of this affair: Roger Gale had, it seems, predicted marriage to Stukeley when hearing his decision to live in the country 'though your aversion to it at that time made it almost incredible', and it also appears from Gale's congratulatory letter on the marriage that Frances was a woman of some intellectual attainments and had been a pupil of Mattaire, the classical scholar.⁴

Frances had two miscarriages soon after the marriage, and on the second occasion Stukeley conducted a very odd

¹ Sir John Clerk to R. Gale, 11 June 1726 (*recte* 1727) (*Bibl. Top. Brit.* iii, 'Reliq. Galeanae', p. 241).

² Bodleian MS. Top. Wilts. c. 4, f. 2.

³ *Vertue Notebooks*, Walpole Soc. xx (1932), 31.

⁴ R. Gale to Stukeley, 6 Feb. 1727/8 (SS i. 200-2). A self-portrait of Stukeley and his wife Frances is in the Keiller MSS. and is reproduced in *Antiquity* (1935), pl. i, opp. p. 22.

ceremony in the garden which had now been laid out as a sort of Druidic grove:

The embrio, about as big as a filberd, I buryd under the high altar in the chapel of my hermitage vineyard; for there I built a niche in a ragged wall oregrown with ivy, in which I placed my Roman altar, a brick from Verulam, and a waterpipe sent me by my Lord Colrain from Marshland. Underneath is a camomile bed for greater ease of the bended knee, and there we entered it, present my wifes mother, and aunt, with ceremonys proper to the occasion.¹

This was in October 1728 and it is a little surprising after this semi-pagan performance to find him only six months later deciding on ordination in the Church of England.

This decision forms the essential turning-point in his whole life, and comes as the culmination of a series of impulsive moves—leaving London and getting married, both unexpected to his friends—and all three events must surely be related to some psychological disturbance which profoundly affected his life from 1726–9. The intellectual processes which can be traced linking his antiquarian studies with a desire to take orders and enter the field of religious controversy will be discussed in the next chapter, but there are hints that the momentous decision was partly motivated by quite worldly considerations. He hints somewhat broadly in a letter to Sir Hans Sloane in September 1729 that he makes only £50 a year from his medical practice and that a comfortable living in the Church would be very desirable—what could Sir Hans do about the living of All Hallows, Stamford?² And before that, writing to an unnamed correspondent in 1728, he talks of Horsley's work on Roman coins progressing well, 'but when I had set myself to look over such things, a rap comes to the door for me to go perhaps a mile off, and my fortune will not support me handsomely without some little business, and that makes me at present very remiss in these affairs'.³ Marriage, an impending family, and

¹ Stukeley to S. Gale, 14 Oct. 1728 (SS i. 208).

² Stukeley to Sir Hans Sloane, 24 Sept 1729: (Nichols, *Illus.* ii. 769 et seqq.).

³ Stukeley to ?, 4 Feb. 1728 (Nichols, *Bibl. Top. Brit.* iii, twenty-fifth letter in the Stukeley group—the pagination of the book precludes a page citation).

the calls on a country G.P. were going to make inroads on his small private means and on his leisure for antiquarian studies, but in the comfortable circumstances of a Church living under eighteenth-century conditions a scholar might have ample means and time to turn his attention to philosophical pursuits. And since he already meditated on turning his archaeological knowledge to controversial ends, what more valuable champion could the Church of England acquire in a time of dangerous free-thinking than one who was convinced not only of his own orthodoxy but of that of the Druids?

The substance of the letters interchanged between Stukeley and his friend, the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, will be given in the next chapter in the course of an examination of the development of his ideas on Druidism between 1719 and 1740: here it is sufficient to say that he was accepted as a candidate for ordination by the archbishop in June 1729, and by February 1730 was installed in the living of All Saints, Stamford. His friends had been hoping from 1725 onwards that he would publish the results of his Avebury and Stonehenge field-work, and inquiries as to the progress of the work occur in the letters from the Gales and others from time to time.¹ He had started working on the papers connected with Avebury soon after he settled at Grantham, and hoped in 1727 to publish in a year or two.² In October 1730 Samuel Gale wrote to Hearne, telling him that antiquities were a little on the decline in London, 'but they are waiting with Impatience for a Curious Dissertation upon Abery and Stonehenge, from Dr. Stukeley, in which . . . there will appear some amazing discoveries'. 'N.B.', adds Hearne, 'This is Dr. Stuckley, whom I have formerly mentioned. He was a Physician, but is now in Orders and hath a Living. He is a fancifull man and looked

¹ e.g. R. Gale to Stukeley, 7 Dec. 1726 (SS i. 186); Warburton to Stukeley, 10 Feb. 1732/3 (Nichols, *Illus.* ii. 1 et seqq.).

² Stukeley to S. Gale, 6 Feb. 1727 (SS i. 190). Sir John Clerk implies that he was working on a book incorporating the Avebury and Stonehenge material in 1733 (see below, p. 138).

upon as beside himself.¹ *Stonehenge* was not, however, to appear until 1740, and *Abury* three years later. By then his mental temper had vastly altered from that of twenty years before—it was no longer Doctor Stukeley writing, but the Reverend William Stukeley, a divine engaged in religious controversy, and Hearne's splenetic criticisms were in a fair way to becoming justified.

APPENDIX

RECONSTRUCTED JOURNALS OF THE TOURS,
1721-5

The following Journals have been reconstructed from the dated drawings either in manuscript or engraved as plates in the *Itinerarium Curiosum*, I and II,² and serve to give a chronological framework to the text as published in this work. They are also complementary to the Topographical Index of Stukeley's drawings printed here as Appendix D.

1721

- August 14. Drew Reading Abbey Gate (IC (1), 23, 26; Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 5).
 August 15. Drew Marlborough Mound (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 7).
 August 16-18. At Avebury and Stonehenge (see separate journals).
 August 20. Drew gardens at Wilton House (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 10).
 August 23. Copied Roman inscription at Cirencester (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 14).
 August 24. At Gloucester, drew Black Friars (IC (1), 22); White Friars (IC (1), 32); cloisters (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 15).
 August 30. At Worcester, drew gateway (IC (1), 23; Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 18).
 September 2. At Malvern, drew gatehouse (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 19^v).
 September 7. At Hereford, drew view of city (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 22).
 September 9. Made plan of Kenchester (IC (1), 85).
 September 14. Drew Leominster Priory (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 29).
 September 16. Drew view of Ludlow (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 30).

¹ Hearne, *Collections*, x. 339. Entry of 3 Oct. 1730.

² Abbreviated to IC (1) and IC (2), followed by the number of the plate, in the references given below.

- September 21. Drew monuments in Tenbury Church (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 20^v).
 September 23. Drew Blackston Cave (IC (1), 13); Hermitage (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 33).
 September 30. Drew Littlechester, Derby (IC (1), 86; Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 39).
 October 1. Drew view of Derby (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 39^v).
 October 3. Drew Nottingham Castle (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 40).
 October 7. Drew monuments in Tuxford Church (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 46^v).
 October 10. Drew view of Newark (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 47).
 October 12. Made drawings at Grantham (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, ff. 48-51); at Great and Little Stukeley (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 58).
 October 13. Drew Colsterworth Church (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 51^v).

1722

- July 23-August. At Avebury and Stonehenge (see separate journals).
 August 1. Drew Sarum Cross, Broughton, and Wallop River (Bodl. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 87); drew view and made plan of Old Sarum (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, 56; IC (1), 65).
 August 4. Made plan of Silchester (IC (1), 61).
 August 5. Drew Silchester (IC (1), 45).
 August 20-1. Drew Hobson's Conduit (Cambridge) (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, ff. 5, 5^v); made plan of Chesterford (IC. (1), 59); drew Roman Camp at Littlebury (Walden) (IC (1), 45).
 August 23. Drew Ivy Cross, Sutton St. James (Bodl. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 80).
 August 26. Drew Holbeach Church (Bodl. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 32^v).
 August 28. Drew Spalding Town Hall (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 6).
 August 29. Drew Boston Stump (IC (1), 19).
 September 1. Drew 'Banovallum' (IC (1), 89).
 September 3. Drew Newport Gate, Lincoln (IC (1), 54).
 September 4. Made plan of Lincoln (IC (1), 88); plan of Roman Lincoln (Bodl. Gough Gen. top. 15, 59).
 September 6. Drew view of Newark (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 6^v).
 September 7. Drew 'Ad Pontem' (IC (1), 90); drew 'Crocolana' (near Newark) (IC (2), 21).
 September 8. Drew Burrow Hill, Leics. (IC (2), 22); Nether Broughton (IC (1), 91), Leicester Roman Wall (IC (2), 23); Bowbridge at Leicester (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 7); made plan of Leicester (IC (1), 92); drew Long barrow at Cassington, Notts. (Bodl. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 14^v).
 September 9. Drew Raw Dykes (IC (2), 27); drew 'Bennonis' (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 73) and made plan (IC (1), 93); drew Bowbridge (IC (1), 94); view of Bowbridge (Bodl. Gough Gen. top. 15, f. 32).

- September 10. Drew Raw Dykes, Leicester (IC (2), 25, 26).
 September 11. Drew Dunstable Church (Bodl. Top. eccles. d. 16, f. 32).
 September 14. Drew Leominster Priory (IC (1), 22).
 September 20. Drew Claremont (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 7^v).
 September 22. Drew earthworks at Pinner (Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints iii).
 September. Drew Little Burgh (IC (1), 87).
 October 4. Drew Rochester Castle (IC (1), 6).
 October 5. Drew Faversham Abbey (IC (1), 27); made plan of Canterbury (IC (1), 96).
 October 6. Drew St. Augustine's, St. Gregory's, and Ethelbert's Chapel, Canterbury (IC (1), 25); St. Augustine's (IC (1), 24); Worth Gate, Canterbury (Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints iii; IC (1), 54); Roman Gate at Canterbury (Bodl. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 44).
 October 7. Drew two views of Dover (Bodl. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 31^v); drew Richborough (Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints iii; IC (2), 35; IC (1), 97); Deal (Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints iii).
 October 8. Drew Pharos at Dover (IC (1), 46, 48); Snaregate Street (Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints iii).
 October 9. Drew Lymne (IC (1), 99).
 October 10. Drew Roman barrow on Barham Down (IC (1), 55); Chilham and Julaber's Grave (IC (2), 54); square earth-work on Barham Downs (IC (2), 53).
 October 15. Drew Kit's Coty (IC (2), 31, 32, 33; Bodl. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 19^v).
 November 7. Made plan of Roman London (IC (1), 57).

1723

- June 28. Drew Speen (IC (1), 60); made plan of Speen (IC (2), 10).
 June 29. Drew Lord Hertford's House at Marlborough (Gough Maps 33, f. 9^v; IC (1), 3); Marlborough (IC (1), 63); made plan of Marlborough (IC (2), 11).
 June 30–September 2. At Avebury and Stonehenge (see separate Journals).
 July 2. Drew Great Bedwyn (IC (1), 64).
 July 6. Drew Martinsell (IC (1), 44); made plan of Marlborough Mound (IC (1), 62).
 July 11. Drew Oldbury (IC (1), 42).
 July 17. Drew Devizes (IC (1), 69); Lansdown Monument, Bath (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 8).
 July 18. Drew Heddington (IC (1), 68).
 July 21. Drew Bath (IC (1), 71).
 July 23. Drew Stanton Drew (IC (2), 77, 78, 79).
 July. Made plan of Bath (IC (1), 70).

- July. Drew Stanton Drew (Bodl. Top. gen. b. 53, ff. 3-4).
 August 1. Drew view of Old Sarum (IC (1), 66).
 August 3. Drew Clarendon (Bodl. Gough Maps 33, f. 28; IC (1), 9).
 August 15. Drew Cadbury Castle (Camelot) (IC (1), 43).
 August 16. Drew Tor and Kitchen at Glastonbury (Bodl. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 37).
 August 17. Drew view of Glastonbury (Bodl. Top. gen. b. 53, ff. 69-70; Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 9); Glastonbury Abbey (IC (1), 33, 36); Abbot's Kitchen (IC (1), 34); made plan of Ilchester (IC (1), 72).
 August 19. Made plan of Exeter (view, pl. 74) (IC (1), 74); drew view in Somerset (Montagu Hill) (IC (1), 44).
 August 20. Drew Seaton (IC (1), 75).
 August 21. Drew Lyme Regis (IC (1), 76).
 August 22. Drew Winterborne nine stones (IC (2), 92); Dorchester: made plan (IC (1), 77) (view, pl. 78); made plan of Maumbury (IC (1), 50).
 August 25. Drew Figsbury (IC (1), 41).
 August 26. Drew Salisbury from Harnham Hill (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 9^v); Sarum from Harnham Hill (IC (1), 67).
 September 5. Drew large view of Wilton House (Gough Maps 33, f. 19^v).
 September 9. Drew Winchester (IC (1), 83).
 September 10. Drew Winchester Cross (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 10^v).
 September 11. Drew Southampton (IC (1), 79); drew view of Portsmouth (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 11).
 September 12. Drew Porchester (IC (1), 80).
 September 13. Drew Portsmouth (IC (1), 82).
 September 14. Made plan of Chichester (view, pl. 82) (IC (1), 81).
 September 15. Drew Chichester Cross (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 10^v); Trundle (IC (1), 43).
 September 16. Drew Farnham (IC (2), 44); view and plan of Staines (IC (1), 84).

1724

- May 8. Drew Roman amphitheatre at Silchester (IC (2), 43).
 May 9. Drew Barrows on Brimpton Common (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, 33).
 May 11. Drew Total Eclipse of Sun on Haradon Hill (IC (1), 172).
 May 11-June 8. At Stonehenge and Avebury (see separate Journals).
 June 7. Drew view of Ogbury (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, 173).
 June 9. Drew Druids' House at Deadman's Den (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, 57^v); hill-fort at Bere Regis (IC (2), 45).
 June 14. Drew Romsey Church (Bodl. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 9); drew Ringwood (IC (2), 46).
 June 21. Corrected proof of Maumbury and made notes (Bodl. Top. Wilts. c. 4, f. 123).

- July 10. Drew six barrows at Stevenage (IC (2), 85); Ravensbury, near Hexton (IC (2), 63).
- July 11. Drew view of Castor (IC (2), 13); spring at Uffington, Lincs. (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 11^v).
- July 13. Drew view of Stamford (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 12); Brigcasterton (IC (2), 14).
- July 14. Drew Crowland Bridge (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 12^v); Crowland Abbey (IC (2), 4).
- July 20. Drew view of Ancaster (IC (2), 15).
- July 24. Drew Wintringham (IC (2), 16); Ferriby Sluice (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 13); 'Aukborough' (IC (2), 17).
- July 25. Drew 'Alate' temple at Barrow, Lincs. (Bodl. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 10).
- July 26. Drew Gaunt's Palace at Lincoln (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 13^v); Caister, and the spring at Caister, Lincs. (IC (2), 19, 20); Thornton College Gate (IC (2), 18).
- September 8. Drew 'Antiquity Hall' at Oxford (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 14).
- September 9. Drew Blenheim (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 14^v).
- September 13. Drew view of Banbury (IC (2), 8).
- September 14. Drew view of Thame (IC (2) 7); Berkhamstead (IC (2), 29).
- September 16. Drew Ludlow Castle (IC (1), 5).
- October 6. Made notes on Noviomagus (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, 38).
- October 7. Drew Rochester Roman wall (IC (2), 30); Roman amphitheatre at Richborough (IC (2), 36); Dover (IC (2), 39).
- October 11. Drew Julaber's Grave (IC (2), 56).
- October 13. Drew Wilton (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 15).
- October 17. Drew Malling Abbey (IC (2), 97); Eltham (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 15^v).

1725

- May 24. Drew Julaber's Grave (IC (2), 57).
- May 27. Drew Richborough from Amphitheatre (Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints iii).
- May 28. Drew view of Downs near Eastwell, dated 1726, but in error for 1725 (Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints iii).
- May 29. Drew views of Dover (Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints iii).
- May 31. Drew Watling Street from Barham Downs (Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints iii).
- June 5. Drew views of Downs near Aylesford and Wye (Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints iii).
- July 4. Drew Tothill Castle, Dunstable (Bodl. Top. d. 14, f. 16^v).
- July 6. Drew 'Benavona' (IC (2), 28).

- July 7. Drew view of Warwick (IC (2), 9); Chapel and Hermitage at Guy's Cliffe (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 6, f. 18).
- July 17. Drew Stafford Castle (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 17).
- July 20. Drew Tutbury Castle (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 17^v).
- July 26. Drew Chatsworth cascade and Pool's Hole (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, ff. 18, 18^v).
- July 27. Drew view of Buxton (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 19).
- August 2. Drew Roman gate at Chester (IC (2), 65; Bodl. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 44).
- August 3. Drew Roman carving on rock at Chester (IC (2), 67).
- August 4. Drew Roman altar in Chester (IC (2), 66).
- August 14. Drew Kendal church and castle (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 20).
- August 15. Drew Mayborough and Arthur's Round Table (Bodl. Top. gen. b. 53, ff. 15^v, 16).
- August 16. Drew Long Meg stone circle (Bodl. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 13^v).
- September 1. Drew Chester-on-the-Wall (IC (2), 75).
- September 4. Drew Roman Wall at Newcastle (IC (2), 77).
- September 12. Drew Prior's Kitchen at Durham (Bodl. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 58).
- September 13. Drew Scruton House (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 20^v).
- September 14. Drew Devil's Arrows at Boroughbridge (IC (2), 90); Market Place at Ripon (Bodl. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 50).
- September 20. Drew Robin Hood's Well (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 21).

IV. AVEBURY, STONEHENGE, AND THE DRUIDS

IN the last chapter we have followed the course of Stukeley's life from his arrival in London in 1717 to his return to the country in 1726, his ordination in 1729, and his publication of his two books on Stonehenge and Avebury in 1740 and 1743 respectively. While discussing the field-work he carried out during the first ten years of this period we have put on one side a consideration of his most important contribution to archaeology, that at the great stone circles which form the subject of these two folios. The intrinsic value of this work makes it no less significant than the information it gives us on the growth of certain ideas in Stukeley's mind. These ideas were to become the theories about Druids and Druidism assiduously propagated by him in the later years of his life and which had so powerful an effect on later eighteenth-century imaginative literature as well as on antiquarian studies even a hundred years later.

We can consider here, in very brief outline, the present state of knowledge with regard to the Druids and their relationship to stone circles and other prehistoric monuments in Britain. Archaeological evidence is consistent in showing that the circles of standing stones, sometimes accompanied by enclosing banks and ditches, which John Aubrey first claimed, in the most tentative manner, as temples of the Druids, first appear in the Early Bronze Age of Britain (that is, from about 1900-1800 B.C.), and that though in certain regions analogous monuments probably continued to be built throughout the Bronze Age, the great

majority of these circles date from the beginning of that period. At Stonehenge considerable structural alteration has taken place during the Middle Bronze Age phase, round about 1500-1200 B.C., but this is exceptional.

The Druids appear in a number of scattered and often ambiguous references in the classical writers from the first few centuries B.C. as a priesthood of the Celts, at that time occupying territories from Galatia to Gaul and in a well-developed iron-using state of culture. We cannot here examine the Druid cult so far as it is recoverable from these relatively scrappy references, but we note in passing that it appears to have been a religion allied to others associated with those people who spoke Indo-European languages from the second millenium B.C. at least. There is nowhere in the classical writers any association made between the Druids and stone circles and similar monuments, though there is explicit reference made to their using sacred groves and, by implication at least, no form of built temples.

Druidism was regarded by its priests as already ancient at the time when their views were recorded in writing by Greeks or Romans, and there is no reason to think that it had preserved a state of pristine purity for untold centuries rather than that it had absorbed and incorporated many elements from earlier and alien religious systems. There is little doubt of the strength of the Early Bronze Age tradition of circular sanctuaries in Britain up till the coming of the first distinctively Celtic tribes to these islands in the tenth and eighth centuries B.C., and even beyond this into the period of the arrival of the first iron-using Celts in the beginning of the fourth. In an Iron Age village or homestead of the second century B.C. at Frilford, near Oxford, there was a small circular shrine in the ancient Bronze Age tradition, while at Stonehenge in the first century B.C., or even a little later, when the monument was in ruins with some of its stones fallen prone, sockets for timber uprights had been dug round the old site in such a way as to suggest a rather rickety reconstruction of an ancient fane.

The association of the Druids with the stone circles is therefore no more than an occasional adoption by the Iron Age priesthood of ancient, native elements and actual shrines in one or two instances. In so far as the Early Bronze Age people themselves may be taken to represent 'proto-Celts', following the views of Hubert and others, the association may perhaps be claimed as a closer one, but so long as one retains the word 'Celt' for these people who spoke Celtic tongues in classical antiquity, and regards the Druids as essentially the priesthood of these folk, the connexion between Druidism and stone circles can only be regarded as secondary.¹

Before discussing Stukeley's views on the subject it will be well to clear the ground by estimating as well as we are able the information on Druids, stone circles, and other megalithic monuments that would have been available to him around 1717-19, before he started any intensive field-work at either of the Wiltshire monuments. Much of this material has been dealt with by Kendrick in his illuminating study of the growth of ideas about Druids in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,² but in our detailed examination of Stukeley's individual share in this we can add from internal evidence certain important facts about his direct or indirect indebtedness to specific books or individuals. He had, of course, the classical writers' testimony on Druidism as his basis and, in an age when a fair acquaintance with at least the Latin authors formed part of an educated gentleman's intellectual background to a degree unknown to-day, the acquisition of the main literary sources cannot have presented any difficulty.

There were also available certain works by Continental and British scholars on the subject of the Druids, and on Celtic and Germanic gods. Of these books, fully discussed

¹ For the Druids in general, see T. D. Kendrick, *The Druids* (1927), still the essential book on the subject though inevitably out-of-date archaeologically. For the persistence of the circular shrine tradition, cf. Piggott in *Antiquity*, xv (1941), 305 et seqq. with refs.

² T. D. Kendrick, *The Druids* (1927), *passim*.

by Kendrick, we may notice the *De Dis Germanis* of Elias Schedius (Amsterdam 1648) and the *Dissertatio de Druidis* of Esias Pufendorf of Chemnitz (1650) among the European works, and in England there were such works as the *De origine Druidum* of Henry Jacob, published in Dickenson's *Delphi Phoenicizantes* (1655), and the *Syntagma de Druidum moribus ac institutis* of Thomas Smith (1664). As an appendix to William Sacheverell's *Account of the Isle of Man* (1702) there had been printed a dissertation on the identification of the *Mona insula* of Caesar and Tacitus, together with *An Account of the Antient Druids* by Thomas Brown. We know from the sale catalogue of Stukeley's library published the year after his death (1766) that he possessed Schedius, Jacob, and Smith, as well as Guenebault's little monograph on Chyndonax to which we have already referred, but there is, of course, no evidence for the dates on which he acquired them.¹

In addition to these books which specifically dealt with Druids, there were a number of works available at the beginning of the eighteenth century which dealt with pre-Roman antiquities and particularly with megalithic monuments. Stonehenge had already acquired a literature of its own, which included the works of Inigo Jones (1655), Charleton (1663), and Webb (1665), and these had been summarized by Gibson in his 1695 edition of the *Britannia*, together with extracts from Aubrey's *Monumenta* describing, among other sites, Avebury.² Plot had described Rollright in his *Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677). Stone circles in the Hebrides had been described and illustrated by Martin Martin in his *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*

¹ There is a copy of the library catalogue in the Bodleian (Shelf-mark Mus. Bibl. III, 80, 4). The sale was held at Essex House for five successive evenings, and the catalogue lists 1,121 items, mainly printed books, but about fifty manuscripts, including many of Stukeley's notes and drawings of antiquities. Some of these were presumably acquired by Gough in due course and from him have come to the Bodleian.

² For a complete bibliography of Stonehenge and Avebury to 1901, see W. J. Harrison in *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xxxii (1901), 1-169.

(1703), and those of Orkney by James Wallace in *An Account of the Islands of Orkney* (1693). General books on British antiquities included Aylett Samme's *Britannia Antiqua Restaurata* (1676), while for the foreign megalithic monuments, about the only available book, and one to which constant reference is made by every writer who touches on such things in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was the *Danicorum Monumentorum Libri Sex* of Ole Worm (Copenhagen 1643), with its *Additamenta* printed at the end of the same author's *Danica Literatura Antiquissima* of 1651.

Among unpublished material we can identify several sources used by Stukeley before 1719. The use he made of Gale's transcript of the *Monumenta Britannica* we have already commented upon and, in the same folio commonplace book as he made his notes from this manuscript, we find numerous extracts and sketches relating to Welsh and Cornish megalithic monuments taken from the notes of Edward Lhuyd which were then in the possession of John Anstis, Garter King of Arms. He may have seen the manuscript of *A Fools Bolt soon shott at Stonage* which had been in the hands of Andrew Paschal of Chedzoy in Somerset at the end of the seventeenth century¹ and which was to be printed by Hearne as one of his incongruous additions to a medieval chronicle—in this case to *Langtoft's Chronicle* (1725). He had Somerset contacts in John Strachey and it is probable that he obtained from him or from William Musgrave of Exeter a plan of the Stanton Drew stone circles in advance of its publication in the latter's *Antiquitates Britanno-Belgicae* which was actually published in 1719.²

It is, of course, more difficult to assess his indebtedness to personal contacts and conversation with his friends and colleagues. Since he knew Anstis, and was lent by him

¹ Paschal to John Aubrey, 2 Dec. 1689 (*Miscellanies on Several Curious Subjects*, 1714, pp. 18-19).

² In the Devizes MS. Stukeley has copied a plan of Stanton Drew 'as represented by Dr. Musgrave from Mr. Strachey': this plan is published in Musgrave's book, vol. i, pl. xiv (opp. p. 209).

Lhuyd's notes to transcribe, he is likely to have obtained further details from him about Cornish megaliths, for Anstis was a Cornishman and sufficiently interested in prehistoric antiquities to make up two manuscript books of notes on Cornish and other field monuments.¹ Lhuyd's manuscript notes on antiquities, some drawings from which Stukeley copied into his commonplace book, and which were subsequently engraved and published posthumously in the second part of the *Itinerarium Curiosum*, now appear to be mostly lost, or at least irreparably scattered.²

Stukeley had also made the acquaintance of a German, Johann Georg Keysler, who had been in England since 1716, during which time he had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and who was interested in the megalithic monuments which he had encountered in the course of extensive travels on the Continent. Keysler published an account of the northern megaliths in his *Antiquitates Selectae Septentrionales et Celticae* at Hanover in 1720, after his return from England, and later (1728) produced an edition of Schedius with an appendix by himself, *De Cultu Solis, Freji et Othini*.³ Discussions between Keysler and Stukeley on Druids and megaliths would have been inevitable.

But by far the most intriguing figure among those whose interests lay in things Druidical, and with whom Stukeley

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* i. 515-16; British Museum Stowe MSS. 1023, 1024. Anstis is, unfortunately, mainly remembered by Lord Chesterfield's exasperated outburst—'You foolish man, you don't even know your own foolish business!'

² Lhuyd's MSS. apparently comprised at least 40 folios, 10 quartos, and over 100 smaller books of notes and drawings. They were offered at his death to Jesus College, Oxford, and the University, but were refused owing to a quarrel among the personalities concerned. The Irish manuscripts are now in Trinity College, Dublin, and certain Welsh manuscripts passed into Lord Macclesfield's library in the eighteenth century. The remainder were sold at Sotheby's in 1807 and were largely destroyed after purchase by a fire at the binder's at which they were lodged (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* s.v.; *Gents. Mag.* 1807, i. 419).

³ *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xv (1882), 702; P. H. Stemmermann, *Die Anfänge der Deutschen Vorgeschichtsforschung . . . 16. u. 17. Jahrhunderts* (1934), pp. 109 et seqq. (I am indebted to Dr. Paul Jacobsthal for drawing my attention to this book.) Stukeley has in the Devizes MS. drawings copied from 'my friend Mr. Keysler's book'.

could have come in contact, was John Toland.¹ Born in Ireland in 1670, he had spent a disjointed life at the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, as a tutor to Protestant families, and in periods of residence on the Continent. Returning to England he published in 1696 the pamphlet *Christianity not Mysteriorious*, which brought him from obscurity to an unenviable fame as one of the best-known and most-hated men of his time. No book on the religious thought of the eighteenth century can avoid mention of Toland and a discussion of his importance: he is as insistent a figure to-day as he was in his lifetime when an irate Irish peer ceased to attend church on the grounds that formerly he used to hear something about Jesus Christ from the pulpit, but now it was nothing but John Toland.² He is usually claimed as the main spokesman of the rationalists and free-thinkers whose very miscellaneous views were grouped together as 'Deism', and when we come to discuss Stukeley's religious attitude when he set out to 'Combat the deists from an unexpected quarter'³ in the 1730's, we shall have to examine the views of Toland and the Deistical writers at greater length. But at the moment we are concerned with a period in Stukeley's life when he was untroubled with thoughts of religious controversy, and must examine a neglected aspect of Toland, that of the student of comparative religion and of the Druids and their antiquities.

Toland returned to England some time before 1694, and in that year came for a period of residence in Oxford, though not as a member of the university, 'where he read in the libraries'.⁴ Edmund Gibson had just gone down from Queen's

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xix. 918 and the Life prefixed to Huddleston's edition of the *History of the Druids* (1814) are the main published sources for Toland's life. There are, however, considerable unpublished MS. sources for his earlier life and his stay in Oxford in 1694 in Tanner MS. 25; Ballard 27; Rawlinson 923, 377, 401. Quotations from some of these with detailed references are given below. See also Ellis, *Letters of Eminent Literary Men* (Camden Soc. 1843), pp. 226-30.

² The story is often quoted—for example, Abbey and Overton, *English Church in the XVIII Century*, i. 183, with reference to Hunt, *Religious Thought in England*, ii. 244.

³ Stukeley to R. Gale, 25 June 1730 (SS iii. 267).

⁴ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xix. 918.

College and was in London working on his edition of Camden's *Britannia* and keeping up an entertaining correspondence with his friend Thomas Tanner, who was still at Oxford.¹ From this interchange of letters between two young men in the early twenties we see how an informal committee was being formed to help in the various portions of the revised *Britannia*, which in its published form the following year was to print the names of these gentlemen with due acknowledgement of the sections for which they had been responsible. In Oxford in 1694 was old Mr. Aubrey with the *Monumenta* manuscript from which excerpts were to be included by Gibson in his work (though he was horrified at the chaotic state of the manuscript when he finally received it),² and also, by the end of April, young Mr. Toland. His reputation had preceded him—Gibson had written a note to Dr. Arthur Charlett with the scandalous story of how 'Monsieur Toland was arraign'd and convicted, in the Coffee-house, of burning a Common Prayer book',³ and the Master of University is hardly likely to have kept such a titbit of gossip to himself. But Gibson had evidently some respect for Toland as an antiquary, for twice within a week he writes to Tanner to ask whether he has sounded the Irishman about helping with the account of the antiquities of his country in the *Britannia*.⁴ Then there was trouble—Toland, though brilliant, must have been an intolerable young man, and his 'insolent conceited way of talking' made Gibson break off relations,⁵ and in the published work we look in vain for mention of Toland, and find Sir Richard Cox alone responsible for Ireland.

But Toland had made friends with Aubrey in Oxford (Aubrey would have befriended anyone, even the most

¹ These letters are mainly in Tanner MS. 25 and have, of course, been drawn upon, with the other Bodleian MS. sources for Gibson's life, by Professor Norman Sykes in his *Edmund Gibson* (1926), especially chap. i.

² Gibson to Tanner 12 Apr. 1694 (Tanner MS. 25, f. 134).

³ Gibson to Charlett 9 Apr. 1694 (Ballard MS. 5, f. 27).

⁴ Gibson to Tanner 20 Apr. 1694; *ibid.* 26 Apr. 1694 (Tanner MS. 25, ff. 138, 140).

⁵ Gibson to Tanner 22 May 1694 (Tanner MS. 25, f. 154).

objectionable youth) and was later to write that the older man 'was the only person I ever then met, who had a right notion of the temples of the Druids, or indeed any notion that the circles so often mentioned were such temples at all'.¹ The study of Druid temples was, however, to be put on one side, and after 1696 Toland lived the uneasy life of a penurious literary hack, in debt and denounced from every pulpit, but unrepentantly writing his often brilliant and always incisive pamphlets questioning the accepted doctrines of the Church of England. In later life, however, we find him under the patronage of an Irish peer, Lord Molesworth, living in Putney and again interesting himself in Druids. He died in March 1721½ and his essays on Druidism were published posthumously in 1726.

A remarkable document exists in the form of a copy of Martin Martin's *Description of the Western Isles* with the marginal annotations of Toland and his patron made in 1720, many of these notes relating to stone circles or similar monuments and their connexion with Druids.² This brings us to a point that is worth while examining in some detail, for it has an important bearing on Stukeley's views about Avebury and his relationship with Toland himself. In his account of the ancient monuments of Orkney Martin describes the Stenness and Brodgar stone circles, saying that they 'are believed to have been Places design'd to offer Sacrifice in time of *Pagan* Idolatry; and for this reason the People called them the Ancient Temples of the Gods', and then adds that 'Several of the Inhabitants have a Tradition, that the Sun was worshiped in the larger, and the Moon in

¹ Toland, *Hist. Druids*. (1814 edn.), p. 159; John Britton *Memoir of John Aubrey* (1845), pp. 6-7.

² This is in the British Museum (c. 45, c. 1), and there is also a complete transcript of the original notes in the Bodleian (Gough Scotland 185), made by Joseph Ames (1689-1759), an antiquary and 'deist by conversation', into a copy of the second (1716) edition of Martin's work. Gough acquired this book from Ames's library, but the original, in the British Museum, was in the sale of Dr. Mead's library in 1755. (See Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* v. 263.) The marginalia are initialled 'J.T.' or 'L.M.' and there is a prefatory note by Toland dated Putney, September 1720, with a postscript of 21 Oct. 1721.

the lesser Circle'.¹ This idea seems to have attracted Toland: he has written a marginal note against Martin's account of Callernish in the Hebrides to claim that here, too, were two circles to the Sun and Moon respectively, and he repeats the idea in his posthumously published essays on the Druids.² These did not appear until 1726, and Stukeley does not seem to have possessed them until they were given him by Warburton in 1729,³ but nevertheless when Stukeley was at Avebury in 1721 he made a plan on which he labelled the two inner circles of the monument as 'Solar' and 'Lunar' temples,⁴ and these same attributions reappear in several other Avebury drawings of 1721-3. While he may have discovered the Orkney entry in Martin's book for himself, and been attracted by the idea independently of Toland, it is surely more likely that there had been some form of contact between the two men in about 1720, when stone circles and Druids were discussed, and the Solar and Lunar attribution given by Martin was pointed out by Toland to Stukeley.

It is difficult to find definite evidence that Stukeley and Toland actually knew one another in 1717-20. In a letter to his old school friend, Ambrose Pimlow, in 1729, Stukeley says, in reply to a question, 'Indeed I know my Lord Molesworth, and if he . . . were in town, I would wait on him':⁵ if his acquaintance were more than very recent at this time the possibility of a connexion with Toland is much enhanced. The great interest of such a connexion, of course, lies in the fact that Stukeley was by 1729 taking up a militant anti-deistical position and would be at pains to conceal any friendship with the heresiarch which may have existed in his unregenerate youth. The only evidence I can trace for his views on religion in the 1717-20 period is contained in an undated and unaddressed letter which may be to

¹ M. Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703), p. 365.

² *History of the Druids* (1814), p. 138.

³ Entry in Diary 12 May 1729 (SS ii. 302).

⁴ Gough Maps 231, f. 22.

⁵ Stukeley to Ambrose Pimlow, 18 Aug. 1729 (SS i. 223).

Samuel Gale and was certainly written about 1729.¹ In this letter he defends his decision to take Holy Orders, and then goes on:

Though London conversation, and being laughed out of going to church on account of my profession, and a thoughtlessness about religious matters, made me talk in a loose way. . . .

This sounds very like a pricking of conscience over his past reputation among his friends. With this might be taken the less definite evidence of a number of *The Freethinker*, dated 5 June 1719, and dealing in scathing terms with the tendency of the medical faculty to desert the scientific path of free-thinking for the 'spirit of orthodoxy' which is pasted, without any disapproving comment, into the commonplace book Stukeley was using at that time for archaeological notes.² If Toland and the young free-thinking doctor did in fact meet and discuss stone circles and Druids (and I think the evidence is all in favour of this) it must have meant a direct personal link with Aubrey himself. And what a piquancy it gives to the righteous indignation against free-thinkers and deists of Stukeley's middle years, with the very hints and ideas derived from the sinful Toland now turned and used against him by the antiquarian champion of orthodoxy!

What impression is Stukeley likely to have gathered from the reading and conversation outlined above? The classical writers would have given him a number of scrappy, disjointed, and often contradictory pieces of information about Druids and Celtic religious beliefs. Even to-day these texts³ form source material that must be used with the utmost discretion, and in Stukeley's rather uncritical mind a vague conception must have formed itself of a priesthood not wholly barbarous (despite the awkward references to sacrifices and holocausts) and having in a form of reincarnation doctrines something akin to Pythagorean ideas. He could not avoid the terrible groves of Lucan, nor the unanimous

¹ SS. i. 227.

² Devizes MS. f. 6.

³ Available in Zwicker, *Fontes Religionis Celticae* (Berlin 1934); cf. Kendrick, *The Druids*, Appendix of sources.

acceptance of these as the Druidic temples by such as Schedius and Pufendorf, but what he had read in Aubrey's notes and what may have been reiterated in conversations with Toland would provide something much more exciting: Druidic temples which still stood as tangible structures built of great stones.

The seventeenth-century writers had managed to suggest between them almost every conceivable claimant for the building of Stonehenge except the Druids. Inigo Jones made it Roman, Charleton Danish (and Plot thought Rollright Danish, too); Edmund Bolton certainly thought it British—'that STONAGE was a works of the BRITANNS, the rudenesse it selfe perswades'—but it was the tomb of Boadicea and the Druids are there only by inference.¹ Plot, too, considered it 'some British forum or Temple'.² Mr. Gibbons, who wrote the *Fools Bolt*, also thought it British, and said so in a splendid passage of nonsense, in which Stonehenge becomes an old *British* Triumphal Trophical Temple, erected to *Anaraith*, their Goddess of Victory, in a bloody Field there won by Illustrious *Stunings* and his *Cangick* Giants, from *Divitiacus* and his *Belgae*: in which Temple the Captives and Spoils were sacrificed to the said Idol *Anaraith*.

Keysler takes up an interesting position in his little book, stressing the occurrence of the great stone chambered tombs in north Germany and Scandinavia—regions which he felt could not be called Druidic by any stretch of the imagination. He notes the varying views held about Stonehenge and other stone circles in England, and makes especial reference to the idea that they were Druidical temples; a view evidently discussed with him when in England. But he must dissent, despite the fact that this view is held in England among scholars to whom he owes a debt of gratitude. He concludes

¹ *Nero Caesar or Monarchie depraved. An Historical Work* (1624), p. 181. This work was published anonymously. Gibson in his edition of Camden gave a summary of these and other views that had been held on Stonehenge during the seventeenth century (*Britannia*, 1695 edn., p. 108).

² *Natural History of Staffordshire* (1686).

in fact that Stonehenge is not a temple, nor is it British or Roman, but it is an ancient Anglo-Saxon monument, and a tomb such as the structures he knows in Holstein.

Keysler's error, as we can now see it to be, was that he confused two types of prehistoric structures in north Europe both built of great stones, but otherwise distinct. The chambered tombs under cairns or barrows which he knew so well in north Germany belong ultimately to the same family as the similar structures in west and north Britain and other parts of the Atlantic seaboard, and are collective burial vaults of Neolithic folk of *c.* 2300–2000 B.C., but the stone circles (such as Avebury or Stonehenge) belong to a class of open sanctuaries mainly dating from the beginnings of the Bronze Age (*c.* 1900–1800 B.C.) and practically confined to the British Isles. However, one must give Keysler credit for being one of the very few antiquaries of his day who were able to approach the problem from more than an insular viewpoint, and he did at least recognize, however dimly, that there was a large class of allied megalithic monuments in northern Europe which, though scattered over a large geographical area, had some sort of underlying homogeneity.

I think, then, that Stukeley began his work at Stonehenge and Avebury with a muddled but relatively unprejudiced mind. He had collected enough data to know that the two great stone circles were representatives of a large class of similar smaller monuments scattered over west and north Britain, and from Keysler and Ole Worm he would have known something of megalithic monuments in north Europe comparable at least to the chambered tombs which he would encounter in the Avebury district and elsewhere (such as Kits Coty House in Kent, a monument belonging to a group of such chambered tombs which, curiously enough, are almost certainly of north German derivation). His primary concern at both the Wiltshire circles was to make an exhaustive examination of them and the immediately surrounding country, and to prepare plans and 'prospectus' of them. His reading of Aubrey's notes, probably reinforced by conversa-

tions with Toland, would incline him to the view that the circles were to be attributed to the Druids, but there is no evidence that this or any other theory was of dominant importance in his mind when he began work in 1719 on a purely objective record.

His original plan seems to have been a general work on British Bronze Age stone circles and what he considered to be allied structures, the megalithic chambers of the collective tombs of somewhat earlier date. The notes in the Devezes commonplace book are clearly designed to this end, and in his preface to the *Itinerarium Curiosum*, dated 26 December 1724, he announces his plan of writing 'the history of the ancient Celts, particularly the first inhabitants of Great Britain,' divided into four books. The first is to deal with the 'history of the origin and passage of the Celts from Asia into the west of Europe, particularly into Britain; of their manners, languages, etc.', the second with Celtic religion and temples, and the third and fourth are to be monographs on Avebury and Stonehenge respectively. Aubrey's *Templa Druidum* manuscript was probably the original inspiration of this projected work, and he designed a title-page for a book to be called 'The History of the Religion and Temples of the Druids',¹ presumably that on 'the Religion of the Druids and all their Temples and monuments' which Sir John Clerk found him writing at Stamford in 1733,² and which may be represented in a later and vastly altered version by manuscripts dated 1754 and 1757.³

Before we examine his work in detail, first at Stonehenge and then at Avebury, there is one stage in his investigations which is common to both sites. Inigo Jones, as is well known, had claimed Stonehenge as a Roman structure, and in 1723 Twining was to make a like claim for Avebury⁴—a view

¹ Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 127.

² See below, p. 138.

³ In Cardiff Public Library. See Appendix A.

⁴ T. Twining, *Avebury in Wiltshire, the Remains of a Roman Work . . .* (1723). The book was dedicated to Lord Winchelsea and demonstrated that Avebury was a Roman temple to Terminus. The great circle had been added by Agricola in commemoration of his having sailed round the Orkneys.

also held by Hearne and by members of the non-antiquarian public, to judge from a poem of 1733, which in quintessentially eighteenth-century heroic couplets describes

Where *Kennet* rises with a pregnant Rill
And glides thro' fatt'ning Meads serenely still
Old *Avebury's* Relicks feed the curious Eye
And great in Ruins *Roman* Structures lie.¹

This view Stukeley had to combat at the outset of his work, for Druids or no Druids, he rightly enough held that these circles must be pre-Roman. When investigating the monument known as Arthur's O'on in Scotland (as described in the last chapter), he had worked out for himself the length of the Roman foot, basing his deductions on the statement in Pliny² that the brick used by the Romans was one foot wide by a foot-and-a-half long, and applying this statement to actual Roman bricks he had picked up at St. Albans and in the City of London, with the result that he ascertained the Roman 'foot' to be in fact eleven and a half English inches—a good enough approximation to the true value of 11.64 inches. Using this unit of measurement he found that the dimensions of Arthur's O'on worked out in even multiples of about 11.5 inches, and took this reasonably enough as support of a Roman date.³

Turning to Stonehenge, he felt that the same arguments should apply, 'for', as he sensibly said, 'whoever makes any eminent building, most certainly forms it upon the common measure in use, among the people of that place',⁴ and if Inigo Jones and the others were right the unit of measurement there and in other stone circles should be the Roman foot which he had already determined. He therefore measured Stonehenge carefully—there is a charming account of how

¹ Samuel Bowden, *Antiquities and Curiosities in Wiltshire and Somerset*, 1733, quoted by R. A. Aubin, *Topographical Poetry in XVIII century England* (New York 1936), p. 198. For Hearne's view, cf. his *Collections*, x, 187.

² *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 14 (49). *Genera eorum fiunt tria*—Lydion, quo nos utimur . . . longum sesquipedem, latum pedem. . . .

³ William Stukeley, *Account of a Roman Temple . . .* (1720), p. 18.

⁴ *Stonehenge*, p. 6.

he and Lord Winchelsea and others 'took I believe among us 2000 measures' and how 'Lord Winchelsea has workt very hard, and was ravisht with Stonehenge, it was a great strife between us, which should talk of leaving it first'.¹ From these measurements he thought he could reconstruct the unit on which the Stonehenge plan was laid out, which in the unfortunately romantic name of a 'Druid's Cubit' is thus abruptly brandished before the reader: 'Take a staff 10 foot 4 inches and $\frac{3}{4}$ long. Divide it into six equal parts. These are the cubits of the ancients. Each cubit is divided into six parts. These are palms.'² Using then a unit of 20.8 inches he showed that the circle was laid out in equal multiples of this, and was therefore not Roman.

The system is scientific and excellent, and after Stukeley the application of such principles was largely forgotten until Sir Flinders Petrie as a young man turned his attention to ancient units of measurement and their reconstruction by precisely such means as Stukeley had himself worked out.³ But, alas! Stukeley's cubit of 20.8 inches, though it agrees well enough with the 20.6 inches of Egypt, Babylonia, and Roman Gaul, 'fails hopelessly when tested with accuracy' at Stonehenge, where Petrie's survey,⁴ plotted with immense precision, showed that the unit used in the original layout had been, most unfortunately, the 'Roman' foot of 11.64 inches. Petrie showed that this unit is in fact by no means confined to Roman times, and the shade of Stukeley might take some comfort from equating it with the Pelasgic foot or the Etruscan cubit, but the fact remains that, while Stukeley's theory was sound in principle, and his intuition that he was dealing with a pre-Roman monument justified, yet the proof he gives is based on a set of faulty measurements.

¹ Stukeley to Roger Gale, 26 July 1723 (SS iii. 249-51). He was also helped in his Stonehenge surveys by his friend Henry Flitcroft, the builder and architect (Gough Maps 229, f. 139).

² *Stonehenge*, p. 15. He also experimented with a 'Celtic Foot' as a unit—cf. *It. Cur.* ii, pls. 81, 83.

³ *Inductive Metrology* (1877), esp. pp. 119, 135, 138.

⁴ Published in his *Stonehenge* (1880).

The monument of Stonehenge emerges to-day, as a result of scientific excavation and comparison with analogous sites, as a composite structure whose building and rebuilding extended over many centuries. To the first phase, at the very outset of the Early Bronze Age of South England, perhaps about 2000 B.C., belong the circular bank and ditch, about 320 feet across and with an entrance at the north-east, within which was a ring of timber uprights. It is possible that there was an inner timber structure of smaller diameter as well, but at all events in the Middle Bronze Age, probably in the fifteenth century B.C., a grandiose reconstruction in stone took place in the inner area involving the erection of an inner group of circles and horse-shoe settings with a maximum diameter of about 100 feet. The stones are dressed to shape, and the larger ones, sarsens from the Avebury region, are lintelled continually in the circle and in pairs in the horse-shoe, while there are also a circle and a horse-shoe setting of smaller stones brought from Pembrokeshire. To the same period of reconstruction belong an outlying standing stone (The Heel Stone) and an approach avenue delimited by two parallel banks and ditches and running for over a mile towards the River Avon. The final archaeological phase of Stonehenge is represented by two circles of holes dug to take stones or posts and surrounding the stone circles at a time when some of the stones were already prostrate, and the date of this late work is at the end of the Roman Conquest in the last phase of the Celtic Iron Age in the first centuries B.C.—A.D. As a monument it is unique in north European prehistory in its use of sophisticated dressed stonework in the Bronze Age which yet retains evidence of the timber prototype in the use of such carpentry techniques as mortice-and-tenon jointing.¹

The positive achievements of Stukeley's work at Stonehenge are considerable, despite the failure of his 'Druid's Cubit'. The manuscript documentation for this site is less

¹ For a summary of the present knowledge of Stonehenge, see *Antiquity*, iii. (1929), 75; excavation reports in *Antiq. Journ.* i (1921) to viii (1928).

detailed than for Avebury, but he does not seem to have produced any sequence of theories as he did for the North Wiltshire site. The unique character of the structure, with its dressed stones and lintelled architrave, marked it off to his mind as it does to us to-day as an exceptional site, and his conception of it in the broadest terms as a great prehistoric sanctuary of southern Britain is one on which we cannot very much improve. His plan, though failing by modern standards of accuracy, was nevertheless a very much better achievement than anything that had been produced before, and many of the subsequent versions of the Stonehenge plan in the later eighteenth and the nineteenth century are considerably worse. Aubrey had made a plan in his *Monumenta* which is chiefly memorable for its inclusion of a series of slight depressions immediately inside the enclosing earthwork, which were found during the 1921-5 excavations of the Society of Antiquaries to have been on the site of a ring of holes cut in the chalk, which held timber uprights in the first phase of the monument's construction as described above.¹ There was no sign of these on the ground when the excavations were carried out exactly two centuries after Stukeley's own years of work, and he himself does not record them. They have been named the Aubrey Holes in honour of John Aubrey's observation: possibly the increasing number of visitors to the site between his day and Stukeley's might account for their obliteration by the 1720's, for it is hard to believe that, if still recognizable, they would have escaped Stukeley's keen eye.

Aubrey, however, missed a feature that Stukeley was the first to record, and which was scarcely more obvious than the Aubrey Holes must have been. This was the avenue leading from the entrance of Stonehenge towards the Avon, and already referred to. The name is Stukeley's and has remained as inalienably a part of the monument as his apt designation of *trilithon* for the megalithic units of the stone structure. The course of what Stukeley regarded as an eastern

¹ Aubrey's plan was reproduced in *Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xvi (1876), opp. p. 32.

branch was destroyed by being ploughed over in the intervening centuries and was regarded as very suspect until it was dramatically recovered by means of air photographs in 1920, when Stukeley's line was vindicated by the differential growth of crops over the filled-up ditches.¹ A western branch of the Avenue was claimed by Stukeley to lead to an enigmatic earthwork enclosure that he called the Cursus (which name remains) and thought might have been used for funeral games, though this branch cannot now be traced on the ground. The Cursus has recently been excavated and seems likely to be contemporary with an early phase of Stonehenge, but although possible parallels have now been noted (one near Stonehenge itself and others in Dorset and on the Oxford gravels) no better explanation of its use has been put forward than his guess.²

In addition to field observation and record Stukeley excavated some of the very numerous Bronze Age barrows that, as he rightly observed, cluster round Stonehenge in such a manner as to indicate an almost certain grouping round a ritual focus. Lord Pembroke provided the finances and labour for these investigations, and one would not have expected that in the eighteenth century archaeological excavation would be more than hole-digging for loot. But in actual fact, Stukeley's observations and record of his barrow digging are far superior to anything normally undertaken before, at all events, the middle of the last century, when the relic-seekers were all too likely to sink a shaft down to the grave beneath the mound and extract as best they might an ancient urn to adorn the library mantelpiece. To-day, when we appreciate the importance of studying the entire structure of the barrow and the sequence of its formation during the funeral ceremonies we see quite a modern note in Stukeley's detailed record:

¹ First published by O. G. S. Crawford in *The Observer*, July 22, 1923, later in *Antiq. Journ.* iv (1924). Also see *Air Survey and Archaeology* (1924), p. 13, and *Wessex from the Air* (1928), p. 222.

² On 'Cursus' earthworks, see J. F. S. Stone, *Arch. Journ.* civ (1948), p. 73; cf. also Riley in *Oxoniensia*, viii-ix (1944), 73.

The manner of composition of the barrow was good earth, quite thro', except a coat of chalk of about two foot thickness, covering it quite over, under the turf. Hence it appears, that the method of making these barrows was to dig up the turf for a great space round, till the barrow was brought to its intended bulk. Then with the chalk, dug out of the environing ditch, they powder'd it all over.

Or, again:

After the turf taken off, we came to the layer of chalk, as before, then fine garden mould. About three foot below the surface, a layer of flints, humouring the convexity of the barrow. . . . This being about a foot thick, rested on a layer of soft mould another foot; in which was inclos'd an urn full of bones.¹

And not only did he write these precise notes, but among his Stonehenge manuscripts there survives a drawn section of the make-up of the mound of the barrow, which must be by far the earliest example in British archaeology of this essential form of visual record.²

At Avebury Stukeley was dealing with a monument which spread out over a large tract of downland instead of forming a relatively compact unit, and its very stones were being broken up and destroyed before his eyes. Avebury appears to have had two main periods of destruction, the first being in the Middle Ages, when the great stones were levered into pits and buried with an anxious care which suggests religious zeal in removing the conspicuous elements of a pagan monument that it did not quite dare to destroy outright.³ But in the early eighteenth century no superstitious prejudices were going to stand in the way of those who saw a ready market for building stone in the new houses of the expanding village. With a novel method of destruction in heating the recumbent stones in a great fire (mainly of straw) and then cracking

¹ Both quotations are from *Stonehenge*, p. 44.

² Gough Maps 229, f. 45.

³ We may compare the instructions in a Council of Nantes in the late ninth century—*lapides quoque, quos in ruinosis locis et silvestribus, daemonum ludificationibus decepti venerantur, ubi et vota vovent et deferunt, funditus effodiantur, atque in tali loco projiciantur, ubi nunquam a cultoribus suis inveniri possint.* (Council of uncertain date, but assigned by Mansi to c. 896: *Sacr. Concil. Coll.* xviii (1902), 172; quoted by Thurnam in *Arch.* xlii. 242.)

them by pouring cold water upon them, the 'Stone-Killer' Tom Robinson and his accomplices were getting merrily to work on what Stukeley called on his spirited drawing of the event an 'Abury Atto de Fe'.¹ Stukeley's description of this stone-breaking is worth quoting:

The barbarous massacre of a stone here with leavers and hammers, sledges and fire, is as terrible a sight as a Spanish Atto de fe. The vast cave they dig around it, the hollow under the stone like a glasshouse furnace or baker's oven, the huge chasms made through the body of the stone, the straw, the faggots, the smoak, the prongs, and squallor of the fellows looks like a knot of devils grilling the soul of a sinner.²

He could not stop the work of destruction, but he could at least record what still existed (though less every year) or mark the sites of stones from the information of Reuben Horsall or other local inhabitants. His 'great frontispiece plate', a plan of the circles showing in detail all this information, is a magnificent production and before the 1934-8 excavations was the only clue to the layout as it existed in his time³ (Pl. III).

The sequence of Stukeley's work at Avebury can be reconstructed in some detail from the extant dated drawings. Already in 1721 he was making a plan with the two inner circles entitled 'Solar' and 'Lunar', respectively,⁴ and, as I have pointed out, this suggests a connexion with Toland's then unpublished ideas. In 1722 is another drawing of the 'Temple of the Moon', and in the next year the solar and lunar pair are well established. One may also note the word 'Obelisk' which he uses for the single upright stone in the centre of the south Inner Circle—this is used for standing stones in Wallace's book of 1693 on Orkney, and also by Toland.⁵

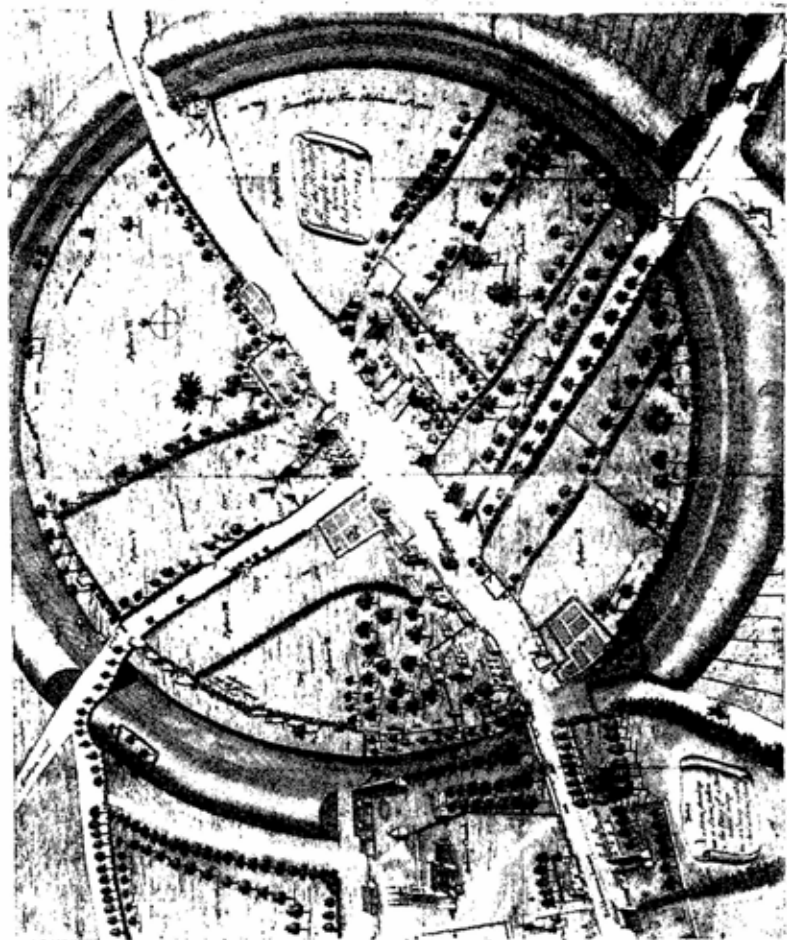
¹ Gough Maps 231, f. 5; reproduced in *Antiquity*, x (1936), pl. vi between pp. 424-5.

² Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 25^v.

³ The original drawing for this is in the Keiller MSS., in the volume *Avebury Drawings*.

⁴ Gough Maps 231, f. 22.

⁵ The Solar and Lunar temple theory was developed in some detail in Stukeley's account of the stone circles at Stanton Drew in Somerset, written in March 1723/4



STUKELEY'S PLAN OF AVEBURY, 1724



PART OF STUKELEY'S SURVEY OF THE KENNET AVENUE, AVEBURY, c. 1723

Stukeley had now made plans and drawings not only of the main group of stone circles within the great bank and ditch, but also of the avenue leading towards the village of West Kennet, where it terminated in a small double circle of standing stones which was to be destroyed within a year or two of Stukeley's record and only rediscovered by excavation in 1930¹ (Pl. IV). This circle, known to the country people, he says, as The Sanctuary, he drew on 8 July 1723 and labelled it 'Temple of Ertha'.² This name is Stukeley's version of 'Hertha', itself a misreading of the 'Nerthus' of Tacitus (*Germ.* 40), a deity of the underworld, whose name philologists now variously equate with the Norse god Njordh or Sanskrit *narakas*. The form Hertha was current in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and apart from the Tacitus reference Stukeley may have been influenced by the woodcut in Ole Worm's book on ancient Danish monuments which shows various megalithic chambered tombs with stone peristaliths and a place labelled '*Erdetal in luco, amaena vallis Herthae Deae, ut putatur, olim dicatur*'.³ Stukeley, accepting the earth-goddess interpretation of Hertha-Nerthus, anglicized the name of the circles into 'Temple of Earth', for it appears in this form in two drawings⁴ and is referred to by Lord Winchelsea.⁵

In addition to the Kennet Avenue of two parallel lines of standing stones, I have already mentioned that Stukeley claimed to have found another similar double line stretching westward from the great circle towards the modern village of Beckhampton. It is impossible here to go into the archaeological evidence for and against this avenue, which

and published posthumously in the second edition of the *Itin. Cur.* (1776), pp. 169-77. The original is in the Keiller MSS., bound in *Sundry Plans and Letters*, I.

¹ *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xlv (1931), 300-35. The site was identified from Stukeley's drawings used on the ground.

² Keiller MSS. Proof Plates, no 62. I have discussed this sequence of ideas at Avebury at greater length in *Antiquity* (1935), pp. 27-8.

³ *Danicorum Monumentorum Libri Sex*, p. 12.

⁴ Gough Maps 231, f. 9^v and f. 54^v.

⁵ Lord Winchelsea to Stukeley, 12 July 1723 (SS iii, 244).

was to play an important part in Stukeley's later theories as to the symbolism of the Avebury plan, but after an intimate acquaintance with Stukeley's field notes and drawings, and their use on the ground at Avebury in 1934-8, I feel the onus of disproof of the original existence of the Beckhampton Avenue lies with the modern archaeologists. Stukeley could not trace its end (it seems likely, in fact, that it never did run farther than the Beckhampton 'Long Stones'), but he felt that it should have had a circle to balance The Sanctuary, and on a great drawing which is undated but probably was made in 1723,¹ and shows the whole Avebury complex in detail, he has dotted in a hypothetical circle which he labelled 'Temple of the Infernal Regions'—an unfortunate identification which he subsequently scored out so heavily that the original words can only be read with great difficulty.

In his last year's field-work at Avebury, in 1724, Stukeley seems to have been in a remarkably clear state of mind, for from his dated alterations we find him changing the 'Temple of Ertha' to the sensibly non-committal 'Temple on Overton Hill' on 18 May of this year,² and it is presumably to the same period that we may attribute the elimination of the Infernal Regions and of the words 'of the Earth' from his field surveys of The Sanctuary.² Probably, too, the ideas about Solar and Lunar Temples were also discarded at this time, for they do not appear in the final version of the plan. His mood of sane, scientific, accurate observation and record was not to be recovered for the rest of his long life.

An interesting parallel to the sequence of ideas as we can trace them in the Avebury drawings is provided by a page in the Devizes commonplace book.⁴ This contains an oblique projection of the plan of the 'Classerness' stone circle and avenues (Callernish in the Hebrides). The original title written in is 'The Form of the Heathen Temple . . .', but the word 'Heathen' is crossed out and 'Druid' substituted, and

¹ Keiller MSS., in volume of *Avebury Drawings*.

² Keiller MSS., Proof Plates, no. 62.

³ Gough Maps 231, f. 9^v and f. 54^v.

⁴ Devizes MS., f. 46.

a note in handwriting characteristic of Stukeley about 1730-40 then adds: 'It was part of a Dracontium or serpentine temple, but very ill drawn.' Doubts then seem to have occurred, for the words 'but quaere' are added to this in the same hand, but with a different pen and ink. The original scale to the drawing was in feet, but the later hand adds one in cubits.

Stukeley's intellectual life was about to be profoundly altered by a decision to which reference has already been made. William Wake, formerly Bishop of Lincoln, had been appointed to the Primacy of all England in 1725. He, like his contemporary, Edmund Gibson, was an historian and antiquary and was one of the last representatives of the great tradition of ecclesiastical historical learning belonging properly to the Restoration period. Stukeley was friendly with him—the Lincolnshire connexion as well as a common interest in antiquities would have brought them together—and in May 1729 Wake had apparently written to Stukeley inquiring about medieval English coins. Replying on 3 June,¹ Stukeley gives the first intimation which can be traced in his papers of his decision to take orders in the Church of England. His recommendations for ordination were perhaps unusual even in those days of Latitude men and of clerics more concerned with polemics than piety.

I have ever been studious in divinity [he writes] especially in the most abstruse and sublime parts of it; and my disquisitions into the history of our Celtic ancestors and their religion, have led me into them, and given me the opportunity of discovering some notions about the Doctrine of the Trinity which I think are not common.

Far from being contrary to reason, he goes on, he thinks he can prove the doctrine 'deducible from reason its self', and demonstrate that the 'antient Egyptians, Plato, our old Druids, and all the heathen philosophers' had a true, Church-of-England, appreciation of the Doctrine of the Trinity. With these, and other mysterious hints of new interpretations

¹ Stukeley to Abp. Wake, 3 June 1729 (SS i. 216).

of the Old Testament, and a pointed reference to the inconvenience of his medical practice, he begs Wake to consider him as a candidate for ordination.

The Primate replied by return in a letter¹ which is of some interest. It seems reasonable to regard it not merely as an expression of Wake's private opinion but representative of the views of the higher clergy at this time on the circumstances in which they would welcome a layman into Holy Orders.² He is immediately encouraging, and seems undeterred by the uncommon notions about the Trinity. He sees in Stukeley a welcome recruit to the ranks of clerical controversialists so badly needed to defend the Church of England against free-thinking:

Never was there a time in which we wanted all the assistance we can get against the prevailing infidelity of the present wicked age; and as our adversaries are men pretending to reason superior to others, so nothing can more abate their pride, and stop their prevalance, than to see Christianity defended by those who are in all respects as eminent in naturall knowledge, and philosophical enquiries, as they can pretend to be. I am persuaded your education and practice as a Physician, will for this reason enable you to do God and Christianity better service than one brought up to Divinity from the beginning could do. . . .

The correspondence continues: Stukeley decides to take Orders and agrees with his Grace about the 'growing infidelity of the present age'.³ Wake advises him as to reading in preparation, and agrees to ordain him Deacon at Croydon on 20th July;⁴ Stukeley replies with renewed zeal.

quicken'd with a resentment of that deluge of profaneness and infidelity that prevails so much at present, and threatens an utter subversion of religion in general . . . nor have I any expectations, nor have I made my intentions known to any person but your Grace; it is a thing that has not enter'd my thought. I can only say about it, that I shall neither seek for preferment nor refuse it, in an undecent way.

¹ Abp. Wake to Stukeley, 10 June 1729 (SS i. 217).

² For this, cf. especially Professor Norman Sykes's comments in *Church and State in the XVIII century in England*, *passim*.

³ Stukeley to Abp. Wake, 25 June 1729 (SS i. 221).

⁴ Abp. Wake to Stukeley, 3 July 1729 (SS i. 221).

God has blest me with a competent fortune; the dignity of a clergyman will not, I hope, suffer from my wearing it.¹

There is a statement not strictly true in this letter—he had in fact told Roger Gale about his intentions by the middle of June, for that worthy gentleman was thoroughly alarmed and wrote in reply a letter urging caution lest precipitate action might result in a doctor without a practice and an unbeneficed clergyman. ‘Your reconciling Plato and Moses’, wrote Gale, ‘and the Druid and Christian religion may gain you applause, and perhaps a Patron, but it is good to be sure of the latter upon firmer motives than that scheme may inspire people with at present.’² Hearne’s comment is terse and characteristic. On 10 August 1729 he writes: ‘Dr. Stukeley, to the surprise of everybody, has taken orders. His friends think him crazy.’³

But Stukeley, by no means a fool in worldly matters, had already a living in mind, that of All Saints, Stamford. He wrote to Wake about this in September,⁴ and at the same time solicited Sir Hans Sloane’s help in the matter:⁵ in October he went up to London himself, ‘making interest for All Saints Living’ as he blandly records in his diary.⁶ The intrigues were successful, and on 16 of October the Lord Chancellor granted him the living, apparently in the teeth of High-Church opposition,⁷ and he took up residence at the beginning of 1730.

It is perhaps difficult at this distance of time to realize

¹ Stukeley to Abp. Wake, 6 July 1729 (Rawlinson MS. A 275, f. 110). This letter is in a volume of Wake correspondence which seems to have strayed from the remainder of the Wake papers in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford. By the courtesy of the Wake Trustees, through the then Librarian, Mr. J. N. L. Myres, I examined these, but could trace no additional papers relating to Stukeley’s ordination. The originals of the letters published in the Surtees Society’s volume are now in the Bodleian, MS. Eng. misc. c. 114.

² R. Gale to Stukeley, 14 June 1729 (SS i. 219).

³ Hearne, *Collections*, x. 165.

⁴ Referred to in Abp. Wake to Stukeley, 26 Sept. 1729 (SS i. 225).

⁵ Stukeley to Sir Hans Sloane, 24 Sept. 1729 (Nichols, *Illus.* ii, 769 et seqq.).

⁶ Bodleian MS. Eng. misc. e. 121.

⁷ Stukeley to Mrs. Stukeley, 16 Oct. 1729 (SS i. 225).

the profound disturbance caused to the Church of England by the writings of these pamphleteers whose very miscellaneous work was included under the term 'Deism' in the early eighteenth century. No account of religious controversy of the century can afford to minimize this overt expression of the free-thinking that had been current but latent since the development of philosophical systems and the new approach to science in the second half of the seventeenth century. We can perhaps appreciate it best not from the public utterances from pulpits or in pamphlets but from the vehement passages which suddenly spring up in the course of the normal private correspondence of individuals and indicate how real was the controversy to everyone. The classical scholar Michael Maittaire, for instance, who had been tutor to Mrs. Stukeley, writes to Dr. Charlett in 1718 about the matter:

This dispute, raised first by Hoadly's worse-than-heathenish sermon (for even Heathens have a greater regard for religion than he) is very scandalous, and becomes a vile reproach upon our Church in particular, as well as Christianity in general. Hoadly puts me in mind of another free-thinker, Toland (the much abler and better writer of the two, tho' of as vile principles) whose late book, called *Nazarenus* makes great noise here. We see the dire effects of the so much commended and fashionable spirit of moderation; we feel the wane of Ecclesiastical Power, the diminution and suspension of which our modern Protestants look upon as a Reformation. God's will be done; and if he in his unsearchable wisdom thinks fit to suffer this inundation of Heathenism, we ought to resign patiently the event to his Providence. Yet I can't forbear being zealously concerned, that the church of England is thus trodden under foot.¹

It is an English custom of long standing to cry 'The Church is in danger', but many people in the first thirty years of the eighteenth century must have been seriously convinced that the Bangorian Controversy was as momentous as the Reformation, and Mr. John Toland something suspiciously like Anti-Christ.

¹ Maittaire to Dr. Charlett, 23 May 1718. Ballard MS. 17, f. 110.

It is difficult to discover what Stukeley's religious position really was, and what he conceived as being 'Deistic' doctrines.¹ His appeals to a reasonable basis for Christianity bring him into the normal Latitudinarian attitude so well exemplified by Tillotson, and the Christian revelation seems to have carried less weight with him than a strong sense of a 'natural' religion which extended back into primitive times, before the Deluge, but given a specifically Christian tinge by asserting that the doctrine of the Trinity was known to the ancients. We must turn to the ideas put forward in Stukeley's published works, especially in *Stonehenge* and *Abury*, for a clue to his complicated beliefs about the Druids and Christianity which he had begun to hold soon after the completion of his Avebury field-work and which were to remain with him for the rest of his life.

From Stukeley's two books mentioned above, and from the posthumously published essays *The Brill*, *Caesar's Camp at Pancras*, and *The Weddings* (a description of the stone circles at Stanton Drew) we may piece together his picture of the British Druids. They had come to England as part of 'an oriental colony' of Phoenicians, 'in the very earliest times, even as soon as Tyre was founded: during the life of Abraham, or very soon after', indeed, 'soon after Noah's flood'. These Druids were 'of *Abraham's* religion intirely', and while he is careful to write that 'we cannot say that Jehovah appeared personally to them', yet he thinks they could by their own reasoning have reached 'a knowledge of the plurality of persons in the Deity' and so become at least not Unitarians, but in a fair way to claim themselves good churchmen. Isolated in Britain ('left in the extremest west to the improvement of their thoughts', as he puts it), they had preserved the patriarchal traditions intact—'the true religion has chiefly, since the repeopling of mankind after the flood, subsisted in our island'. This religion 'is so extremely like Christianity, that in effect it differ'd from it

¹ For Deism and the development of the idea of 'natural' religion, cf. Basil Willey, *The Eighteenth Century Background* (1940), *passim*.

only in this; they believed in a Messiah who was to come into this world, as we believe in him that is come'. The leader of the Druidic immigrants Stukeley conceived as being the Tyrian Hercules, 'a worthy scholar of Abraham' and 'in the same generation as Noah's great grandsons'. He had landed in west Britain and probably, as one of his new labours, had built the stone circle of Boscawen-Un, in Cornwall.¹

As we read them to-day, these ideas of Stukeley's seem, at first, a fantastic invention, hatched in his own brain while he pored over the drawings of Stonehenge and Avebury in the seclusion of his country vicarage. But when we come to examine them critically, we find that few of them are original, and, granting certain premisses that every learned man of the early eighteenth century would accept, that they are not really so fantastic as they seem at a remove of two centuries. It must be remembered at the outset that any discussion of antiquity had to be fitted into a Biblical framework which not only governed the broad principles of chronology by setting (in Archbishop Ussher's accepted scheme) the date of the Creation at 4004 B.C., but which also included one decisive and cataclysmic event of world-wide magnitude, the Deluge. The Tower of Babel, the Flood, and the re-peopling of the world by 'the arkite ogdoad' (the eight persons in the Ark—Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and their wives) were inescapable facts in the mind of Stukeley, and in the minds of all his contemporaries, while with these was linked the necessary belief that the primitive language of original humanity must have been Hebrew.

It is this philological assumption that gives us our first clue in distinguishing the sources of Stukeley's Druidic ideas. The seventeenth-century French scholar, Samuel Bochart,²

¹ For this summary, cf. J. M. S. Tompkins in *Review Eng. Studies* xxii (1946), 1; E. B. Hungerford, *Shores of Darkness* (1941), p. 67.

² Conveniently available to Stukeley in *Opera Omnia*, 3 vols., 1712. His two main works were *Geographia Sacra* (1646-7) and *Hierozaicon* (1663), the first dealing with the dispersion of mankind after the Flood and the second with the primeval language used by Adam to name the beasts.

had searched for the remnants of the pre-Diluvian, pre-Babel, language of mankind, and had, with a wealth of misplaced erudition, found this in Phoenician. Following this by the observation of genuine, though misunderstood, affinities between the various Indo-European languages, including the Celtic tongues, Bochart had concluded that Gaul had been peopled after the Flood by Phoenician voyagers, and he further demonstrated to his own satisfaction that the classical myths were also derived from Old Testament sources—Bacchus and Noah were linked by a common liking for the wine-skin, while Moses and the Muses were an obvious assonance.

Now Stukeley certainly used this work, and indeed refers respectfully to 'the great *Bochart*', but before his day another English antiquary had drunk deeply at the same well. Aylett Sammes, whose *Britannia Antiqua Restaurata*, published in 1676, was in Stukeley's library, freely acknowledges that his work was based on that of Bochart—'I do not arrogate to my self the first discovery of these Antiquities' he writes in his preface. He then goes on to say that as Bochart had demonstrated the Phoenician peopling of Gaul, so he hopes to take this a stage farther, 'making use of the same method in laying open the Original and Commerce of the Primitive Inhabitants of this Island'. The Druids make a conspicuous appearance in the pages of Sammes's work, with illustrations of the wicker image full of victims for the holocaust, and of a Druid himself, venerably bearded, with mantle and hood, bare-footed and with staff, scrip, and book. But they are in no sense patriarchal Christians, for Sammes makes sensible use of the classical authorities with their references to Celtic gods, sacrifices, holocausts, and other idolatrous and heathenish practices, from which he makes no attempt to exculpate the British Druids. An important contribution of his own to the Phoenician myth, however, is none other than the Tyrian Hercules—Hercules, 'the Son of *Demarus* King of *Tyra*', who landed in Devonshire at Hartland Point. Here, then, is the germ of Stukeley's ideas

about Hercules, and an introduction to Bochart if he had not already met with that writer.

In 1723, when Stukeley was nearly at the end of his work at Avebury, a book was published that owed much to Sammes. The Reverend Henry Rowlands was the scholarly vicar of an Anglesey parish, who was interested in the local antiquities of the island, and wrote an account of these which shows its debt to Sammes even in its title, *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*. Rowlands, of course, accepts the post-Diluvial peopling of Europe—'Antiquity recordeth, and the Consent of Nations celebrateth the Sons of *Japhet* to have been the first Planters of *Europe*' he writes, and then, assuming Welsh (an 'ancient *Celtish* or *British* Tongue') to be that of the first 'planters' of Anglesey after the Flood, he accepts Bochart's view that Welsh is really Hebrew, and that it preserves, nearest of all surviving languages, the original speech of mankind before Babel.¹ It follows from this

that some of the first Planters of this Island, being so near in descent, to the Fountains of true Religion and Worship, as to have one of *Noah's* sons for Grandsire or Great-grandsire, may be well imagin'd, to have carried and convey'd some of the Rites and Usages of that true Religion here, pure and untainted, in their first propagating of them; tho' I must confess they soon after became, as well here as in other Countries, abominably corrupted, and perverted into the grossest heathenish Fictions and Barbarities.

The first part of this proposition seems to have been eagerly accepted by Stukeley, though the wiser conclusion of Rowlands is ignored. Later in the book Rowlands appears to have abandoned his ideas about the implanting of 'true Religion' by Phoenician Druids in Anglesey, for they become 'insinuating priests' who

had Charms enough in their Skill and Knowledge, in their address and Conversation, to obtain to themselves the chief Posts of Management wherever they resided; and when obtain'd, to secure their Credit

¹ This view was solemnly reiterated in 1865 by the Rev. Samuel Lysons in his book, *Our British Ancestors*, in which the neolithic chambered tombs of the Cotswolds are called in as witnesses.

and Reputation, and there-upon, to bear up a Port and Authority (no hard thing for them to do in that easy obsequious Age).

In Anglesey, Rowlands had excuse enough to discuss the Druids, since the reference in Tacitus to this priesthood and its sanctuaries in the island in the first century A.D. are detailed and explicit.¹ Anglesey also contains a large number of megalithic chambered tombs dating from Neolithic times, late in the third millenium B.C., as well as standing stones of unknown age, and Rowlands is at pains to find an origin for these. He knows from the classical writers that the Druids worshipped in groves, and though those of Anglesey would have vanished long ago, yet he can find enough groves of oaks in the Old Testament to exclaim with the seventeenth-century writer Dickenson, '*En primos sacerdotes quernos! En patriarchas Druidas!*'² Altars of stone have also a scriptural warrant, so the ruined chambered tombs become Druid altars, with the ritual of sacrifice performed on top of the denuded cap-stones of the burial chambers: standing stones are unhewn idols. He is therefore able neatly to account for all the more conspicuous local antiquities, and as there are no stone circles in Anglesey recognizable as such, he is not troubled by seeking an explanation for these. He refers in passing to English stone circles, however, implying that the prevailing view was that they were of Danish origin; though, as he asks, 'Might not Stonehenge and Roll-rick Coronets be very well the Relicks of antient *Druidism*' re-used by the Danes, and he quotes Martin³ Martin in support of a Druidical origin for stone circles in Scotland.

From Bochart, Sammes, and Rowlands, therefore, Stukeley appears to have derived his ideas of the Phoenician colonization of Britain, led by the Tyrian Hercules (who was also championed by Toland), and including Druids who were likely to have inherited something of the religion of the Old Testament patriarchs—the last hypothesis dependent, of course, on the current beliefs about the re-peopling of the world after the Deluge by the sons of Noah. To understand

¹ *Annals*, xiv. 30.

² *Delphi Phoenicizantes* (1655).

his conception of the Druids as a nearly Christian priesthood, however, we must turn to other views about them which had been vaguely held for over a century.

In parenthesis, though, we see how Stukeley's visual idea of a Druid was built up. Sammes had depicted a Druid in a fancy drawing of a bearded sage, and this was copied by Rowlands with certain alterations—the bare feet were shod with sandals, an oak-branch substituted for the book in the left hand, and fantastic versions of prehistoric circular huts were introduced into the background. Stukeley puts as a frontispiece to his *Stonehenge* a representation of 'A British Druid', drawn in February 1723/4 (presumably therefore just after the publication of Rowlands's book), in which the figure, recognizably the same in general stance and dress to that in Rowlands's, has a shortened beard and a Bronze Age axe hung at his belt, and though nothing is held in his left hand he stands under an oak tree. In the background are barrows and a hill-fort appropriate to the Wiltshire downland (Pl. V).

The idealization of the Druids which made possible their claim, in Stukeley's imagination, to be the enlightened priests of a religion by no means unlike that of the eighteenth-century Church of England, had begun early in the seventeenth century.¹ Drayton in his *Polyolbion* (1612) pictures the Druids as 'sacred Bards' and sages 'like whom great Nature's depths no man yet ever knew', sublime philosophers in Britain before the advent of Caesar, and monotheists at that. Selden, in his notes to the poem, takes the matter farther, and suggests that the Pythagorean ideas of metempsychosis may be of Druid origin, and this point was taken up eagerly by Toland, who identified the mysterious Abaris the Hyperborean as a Celtic Druid, who, wrapped in his native plaid, disputed in perfect Greek with Pythagoras himself. Toland's enthusiasm was that of the Irishman eager

¹ The ensuing section is largely based on J. M. S. Tompkins, *Review of English Studies*, xxii (1946), 1-16. Cf. also B. Willey, *Eighteenth Century Background*, pp. 12-13, for 'noble savages' in contemporary thought.

to defend the Celt, but his general opinion of Druids was worse than that of Rowlands, and delivered with elaborate irony:

To arrive at perfection in sophistry requires a long habit, as well as in juggling, in which last they were very expert: but to be masters of both, and withal to learn the art of managing the mob, which is vulgarly called *leading the people by the nose*, demands abundant study and exercise.¹

But the belief in noble Druids was, as Miss Tompkins has so well shown, fed partly by patriotic feeling and partly by that sense of liberty which was to find its political expression in the French Revolution at the end of the century. The Druids are regarded as leaders of a resistance movement against the oppression of Roman rule—a feeling that finds overt expression in Thomson's poem *Liberty* (1735) and Collins's *Ode to Liberty* (1747), in both of which Druids have a place as the apostles of freedom.

A similar association is latent also in the eighteenth-century attitude to ruins, especially those of Gothic buildings: the early Romantics were instinctively moving 'toward freedom and away from the controls of discipline', and could see in crumbling ivy-clad ruins an expression of the triumph of time over the vestiges of ancient autocratic power. The mouldering abbey or the decaying castle symbolized freedom from the tyranny of monks or barons.²

With such a background, then, with Druids already associated in the literary world with liberty, virtue, and culture, Stukeley could find a ready acceptance of his own individual contributions to the Druid myth. He could claim for them as temples not the memory of long-vanished groves, but the still extant ruins of magnificent circular sanctuaries of great stones, and, as a Church of England parson distressed by the prevalent rationalism, he could show these same Druids to be the inheritors of the true

¹ *Hist. Druids* (1814 edn.), p. 59.

² Cf. Michael Sadleir, *Things Past* (1944), p. 176, for a discussion of this attitude.

patriarchal religion, with which 'the christian, is but one and the same'.¹

To this end the archaeological field-work of the previous years, still unpublished, could be used as ammunition in a holy war against the free-thinkers. The new vicar of All Saints, Stamford, with misguided enthusiasm, set about the task of converting his archaeological notes into religious tracts. By the end of June 1730 he was able to reveal to Roger Gale the real nature of Avebury:

The form of that stupendous work [he wrote] is a picture of the Deity, more particularly of the Trinity, but most particularly what they anciently called the Father and the Word, who created all things. . . . A snake proceeding from a circle is the eternal procession of the Son, from the first cause. . . . My main motive in pursuing this subject is to combat the deists from an unexpected quarter, and to preserve so noble a monument of our ancestors' piety, I may add, orthodoxy.²

As Miss Tompkins has remarked, Stukeley felt it necessary that the ceremonies of the Druids at Avebury should closely resemble the services in his own parish church at Stamford.³

The 'snake proceeding from a circle' was an idea evolved by Stukeley from his simplified restoration of what he imagined was the original plan of the Avebury complex. The problematical Beckhampton Avenue on the west formed the tail of the serpent, which passed through the main circles and emerged on the south as the Kennet Avenue, with the Overton Hill stone circles as its head to the east. On this 'hieroglyphic figure' he expended much thought, and believed that all other stone circles with avenues known to him (for instance that of Callernish in the Outer Hebrides) belonged to a class of temples for which he invented the

¹ In addition to J. M. S. Tompkins's and E. B. Hungerford's works already referred to, see Ruthven Todd, *Tracks in the Snow* (1946), pp. 47 et seqq.

² Stukeley to R. Gale, 25 June 1730 (SS iii. 266). Gale found this information 'new and surprising' and felt that 'it promises at the same time both the utile and the dulce'. (R. Gale to Stukeley, 30 June 1730 (SS i. 237).)

³ Mr. Howard Colvin points out to me that Stukeley's imaginary reconstructions of Solomon's Temple in Bodl. Gough Maps 41^o, ff. 74-5, make it look curiously like an eighteenth-century church!

name *Dracontia*: serpent or dragon temples. There seems no warrant for such a word, as *dracontium* in classical antiquity was used only for a plant described by Pliny, but Stukeley uses it throughout in his own peculiar meaning.

The quarter from which the deists were to be combated was so unexpected that it is very doubtful whether they recognized as an opponent the antiquarian clergyman with his two folios on stone circles. But he took care to make his intention clear enough in his prefatory remarks to *Stonehenge*, first to be published in 1740, which explain that this volume, and the forthcoming *Abury*, were to be considered as two parts only of a great work on 'Patriarchal Christianity, or a Chronological History of the Origin and Progress of true Religion, and of Idolatry'. This was planned in seven sections dealing respectively with (1) A Mosaic Chronology from the Creation to Exodus, (2) 'Melchisedec, or a delineation of the first and patriarchal religion', (3) Of the mysteries of the ancients, and of idolatry (based apparently mainly on the *Tabula Isiaca*, a Roman forgery to which Dr. Mead had drawn attention but which he, and the rest of the learned world of the time, took to be genuine),¹ (4) A dissertation on writing and the origin of the alphabet, (5) The patriarchal history of Abraham and the Phoenician colonization of Britain, (6) Of the temples of the Druids in Britain, especially Avebury, and (7) A description of Stonehenge. 'I propose', he continues, 'to publish these two first, and proceed to the speculative parts afterwards; reserving them, God willing, to the maturer time of my life.' Then follows a declaration of faith:

My intent is (besides preserving the memory of these extraordinary monuments, so much to the honour of our country, now in great danger of ruin) to promote, as much as I am able, the knowledge and practice of ancient and true Religion; to revive in the minds of the learned the spirit of Christianity . . . to warm our hearts into that true sense of Religion, which keeps the medium between ignorant superstition and learned free-thinking, between enthusiasm and the rational

¹ Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s.v. Richard Mead.

worship of God, which is no where upon earth done, in my judgement, better than in the Church of *England*.¹

The scheme is plain: the learned would read about stone circles, and thence would be gently drawn to the Druids, and before they knew where they were the beauties of the ancient patriarchal religion, foreshadowing the whole doctrine of the Church of England, would be presented so persuasively that any free-thinking ideas would be put to rout. He was intent to attract a wide public—‘the method of writing, which I have chose is a diffusive one, not pretending to a formal and stiff scholastic proof of everything I say, which would be odious and irksome to the reader, as well as myself’, he writes rather ingenuously, but ‘to one that has proper sagacity and judgment, conviction will steal upon him insensibly, if I am not mistaken’.² We have travelled a long way from the accurate scholarship of the Restoration historians, in the last decade of which tradition Stukeley began his work, and are already in the age in which Bolingbroke could express his ‘thorough contempt for the whole business’ of the great historical achievements of the earlier scholars, and not far from that of Gibbon, when the antiquary ‘blushes at his alliance with Hearne’.³ Indeed, we are a long way from Stukeley’s own excellent intentions of 1724, when he was planning an objective work on stone circles and British Celtic prehistory. It even seems that as late as 1733 his work on Druid religion and temples was not conceived as a religious tract—at least Sir John Clerk gives no hint that it was.⁴

The two last sections alone of the ambitious work he finally projected were published, though much of the remainder was written and remains in deservedly obscure manuscript form. In earlier pages we have examined the real archaeological contribution contained in the eccentric pages of *Stonehenge* and *Abury*, where it is entangled with the most curious mixture of Biblical and classical allusions and flights

¹ *Stonehenge* (1740), preface.

² *Ibid.*

³ David C. Douglas, *English Scholars* (1939), pp. 356, 361.

⁴ See above, p. 105, and below, p. 138.



THE EVOLUTION OF THE DRUID
 Drawings by Sammes (1676), Rowlands (1723), and Stukeley (1723)



of the wildest etymological fancies. The Stonehenge book is the less diffuse, and comes nearer to an objective report on field-work and excavation, but in the three years which elapsed between its appearance and that of *Abury*, Stukeley's mind seems to have become perceptibly more obsessed with theory, and in the second book the sound field-work only peeps out here and there among the nonsense. And when 'PHUT son of CHAM' begins to dominate the scene ('a person of eminence, tho' not taken notice of so much as he deserves'),¹ Druids, Phoenicians, Chaldeans, and the Tyrian Hercules are all confusedly worshipping in a Dracontium in imminent expectation of the Messiah. It is time to stop.

However much words might be altered to fit theories, one would think that drawings at least were records preserving their objectivity from the better days of the 1720's. This is true of nearly all the numerous plates which adorn the two books and which give them to-day much of their value to the archaeologist. But there is evidence of one grave and deliberate falsification which can be traced by means of the assembled Stukeley papers. His published plan of the stone circles at The Sanctuary, mentioned above, shows them as ovals, not true circles. But the 1930 excavations of the site showed them to be in fact accurately circular, and we find that Stukeley's original field-surveys of the site, which survive, show true circles and minor features completely in accordance with the facts as recovered by excavation. An intermediate link is an original drawing of c. 1740 in which the positions of the stones are arranged as ovals in grey wash, but are superimposed on a faint pencil outline showing them as circles, while in one of the original plans an oval outline has been roughly sketched in. It appears that by 1740 the mystic serpent had to be given a more naturalistic head than that afforded by true circles, and the original survey was altered accordingly.²

The change in Stukeley's approach to archaeology between

¹ *Abury* (1743), p. 64.

² *Antiquity*, ix (1935), 31, with reproductions of the relevant drawings.

the years 1725 and 1730, taken in conjunction with his decision to enter the Church, and perhaps his apparently sudden marriage, is so marked that it can hardly be regarded as a natural evolution in thought and mood, but rather the result of some psychological disturbance affecting him at this time. There is a curious partial parallel, at least, to which Professor G. N. Clark first drew my attention, in the life of Sir Isaac Newton, a fellow Lincolnshire man whom Stukeley had known, and for whom he had a high respect approaching veneration, and it is worth while examining this in more detail.

The change in Newton's mental life is well documented and more dramatic than that in Stukeley's. Up till 1689 Newton had been absorbed in the problems of pure mathematics to the exclusion of all other intellectual activities, but in that year he produced his first work on *Two Notable Corruptions of Scripture*, and in February 1690/1 he is writing to Locke about his 'mystical fancies' on the Apocalypse. By 1693 signs of profound mental disturbance were apparent, with insomnia and some form of persecution mania, and a definite nervous breakdown seems to have occurred in that year. He emerges from this changed in character, dictatorial, suspicious, and worldly, and from now on much of his attention is devoted to works on Biblical chronology and comment on the prophetic and apocalyptic books of the Bible. In these Newton attempted to use his mathematical techniques to produce convincing interpretations and, to quote his modern biographer, 'to replace the authority of the Roman Church by the authority of the Bible, and to counteract the sceptics who were beginning to question its miracles and prophecies'.¹ His contemporaries certainly saw him as vindicating the mystics—William Law considered he 'did but reduce to mathematical form the central principles revealed in Behmen' and it is in this light that his expositions of the Prophet Daniel or the Revelation of St. John must be regarded.

¹ L. T. More, *Isaac Newton, A Biography* (1934), p. 608. All references to Newton unless otherwise documented are taken from this book.

The parallel with Stukeley, employing his archaeological talents in combating the Deists in later life, seems significant enough. In both men there had been an early phase of scientific and objective work followed by a more or less sudden change to one of religious enthusiasm in which the disciplines and results of the earlier work were utilized in vindication of Protestant Christianity, however Latitudinarian a form at least it may have taken in Stukeley's mind. And the connexion can be brought even closer, since the lives of the two men overlapped, so that the antiquary in youth had known the ageing mathematician. In 1720, when Newton was seventy-six and Stukeley thirty-three, they had indeed discussed Solomon's Temple together—'He says it was older than any other great temple', wrote Stukeley, describing the conversation, and since Newton and Stukeley both shared a delight in draughtsmanship, it is not surprising that both made imaginary drawings of this notable building of antiquity.¹

Stukeley had therefore been interested in Biblical antiquities as early as 1720, and Newton's conversations may well have had their part in influencing his ideas a few years later, while the *Mosaic Chronology* Stukeley compiled in 1731 may betray an even closer connexion. He had known Newton, and had collected details of his life with assiduity for Conduitt, Newton's nephew by marriage, and so could not escape a knowledge of the crisis in his hero's life and the manner in which he had turned his mathematical genius to religious ends. It is hardly likely that any conscious comparison can have existed in Stukeley's mind after Newton's death in 1727, but in the abnormal mental state in which he found himself about that time the possibility of an unconscious parallel working itself out cannot wholly be dismissed. At all events, whether such a connexion existed or not, the similarity in the two life-stories is sufficiently interesting to deserve comment.

¹ Newton's drawings were published in his *Chronology*; Stukeley's are mainly in Bodl. MS. Top. gen. b. 52. The conversation is reported in the Portsmouth Papers and published by More, op. cit., p. 621.

APPENDIX

RECONSTRUCTED JOURNALS OF FIELD-WORK
AT AVEBURY AND STONEHENGE

From Stukeley's dated drawings and notes, and incidental references in his published works, it is possible to reconstruct a fairly detailed Journal of the sequence of his work at Avebury, and to a less extent at Stonehenge, which gives an interesting insight into the progress of his work, and the changing theories that passed through his mind at the time. The more detailed Avebury evidence is given first.

The Avebury Journal

1718

I have already pointed out that the references to a first visit to Avebury in 1718 (*Abury*, p. 24; SS iii, p. 273) must be a confusion with the year 1719—both references were made twenty years or more after the event. On 10 December 1718 he finished copying out Gale's transcript of Aubrey's *Monumenta* MS. into his Commonplace Book (Devizes MS.) with the Avebury plan.

1719

May 19. 'Rude general sketch' made of Avebury (Devizes MS., f. 41). This seems to have been Stukeley's first visit, made with the Gales.

1720

'In the year 1720, I saw several stones just taken up there', i.e. in the Kennet Avenue (*Abury*, p. 30).

1721

August 16. Measured circumference of Great Ditch with Roger Gale (*Abury*, p. 20).

Drew 'Cove' of North Inner Circle (*Abury*, Tab. XV); North and South entrances (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, ff. 7^v, 8); 'Cell of Celtic Temple' (Hearne's *Collections*, x, 187).

August. Drew plan of Avebury with 'Solar' and 'Lunar' temples (Bodl. Gough Maps, 231, f. 22).

September 4. Made fair drawings of Avebury while staying at Worcester (SS iii. 280).

1722

- July 23. Stukeley, Vandergucht, and Pine set out for Avebury (SS iii. 273).
 July 26. Drew general view of Avebury (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 325); another view from south (Keiller MS. 5). Sketch of 'Tom Robinson, 'Stone-Killer' (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 241).

August. In this month he made drawings of the South Entrance (*Abury*, Tab. XII); North Inner Circle (ibid., Tab. XIII); 'Temple of the Moon' (Inner Circle) (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 39); View from North (ibid., f. 218); South Entrance (ibid., f. 308); South Entrance (Hearne's *Collections*, x, 187).

In 1722 (no month stated) he first recognized the (probable) Beckhampton Avenue (*Abury*, p. 34), and recorded of the Great Circle that of 100 original stones 'there was left in the year 1722, when I began to write, above 40' (ibid., p. 22).

1723

- June 30. Drew Devil's Den (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 206; *Abury*, Tab. XXXIV).
 July 1. Another drawing of same (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, ff. 203-4; *Abury*, Tab. XXXIII).
 July 6. Earl of Winchelsea and Lord and Lady Hertford visited Stukeley at Avebury (SS iii. 273); Stukeley drew Old Chapel Long Barrow (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, ff. 4^v, 10, 224).
 July 8. Drew 'The Sanctuary' as 'Temple of Ertha' (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 227; Keiller MS. 25, f. 62).
 July 10. Drew 'Cove', 'South Obelisk', Millbarrow, 'Lunar Cove', 'Solar Temple' (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, ff. 16, 41, 45, 237; *Abury*, Tab. XIV, XVI, XXX).
 July 11. Drew Silbury Hill (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 264; *Abury*, Tab. XXVII).
 July 12. Drew north-west side of Great Circle (Keiller MS. 5, f. 19); Lord Winchelsea writes to Stukeley 'at the Catherine Wheel, at Abury', mentioning the Temple of Earth (SS iii. 244; Nichols, *Illus.* ii).
 July 14. Drew Beckhampton Avenue 'from top of an haycock' (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, 233).
 July 15. Drew Roman Road cutting disk barrow; Roundway Hill (*Abury*, Tab. IX, X); 'Solar Temple' (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 48).
 July 17. Drew West Kennet Long Barrow (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, ff. 13, 242).
 July 18. Drew Roman Road and disk barrow (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 36).
 July 19. Drew Silbury Hill (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 252); general view of Avebury (Bodl. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 31); view of Avebury from south (ibid., f. 57); altered title on Beckhampton Avenue view from 'Spot

of the Temple' to 'Spot of the Termination of the Bekampton Avenue' (Keiller MS. 25, f. 61; *Abury*, Tab. XXV).

- July 22. Stukeley writes from Bath to Roger Gale of his fortnight's work at Avebury, where he had 'taken a world of drawings' and worked out the Beckhampton Avenue (SS iii. 245-7).

In 1723 (no date) the 'Geometry of Silbury' drawing was made (*Abury*, Tab. XXVIII).

1724

- May 12. Drew Avebury from Wansdyke (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 2^v).
 May 13. Drew Silbury (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, 251; *Abury*, Tab. XXVI) and saw stones carted from 'The Sanctuary' (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 8^v).
 May 14. Drew entrance of West Kennet Avenue to Avebury (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 292); took bearings from Waden Hill (*ibid.*, 33^v).
 May 15. Drew West Kennet Avenue from Hackpen Hill (*Abury*, Tab. XXII); Beckhampton Cove (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 33); view of Sanctuary entitled 'The place of lustration and cophoria at Kennet' (*ibid.*, f. 31).
 May 16. Drew West Kennet Long Barrow (Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 243).
 May 18. Altered proof engraving of The Sanctuary (*Abury*, Tab. XXI) from 'Temple of Ertha' to 'Temple on Overton Hill', but without the subtitle 'The Hakpen or head of the Snake in ruins' with which it is published (Keiller MS. 25, f. 62).

The Stonehenge Journal

The information on the Stonehenge work is much less detailed than that on Avebury: there are no dated drawings of 1720.

1719

- May 18-19. 'I was at Stonehenge . . . with Mr. Rog. and Sam. Gale. The first time I saw it'; drew plan (Bodl. Gough Maps 33, f. 2^v).

1721

- August 18. With Roger Gale at Stonehenge, drew views (Bodl. Top. gen. d. 13, ff. 9, 9^v; Bodl. Gough Maps 229, f. 147).
 August. Drew ground-plan with Avenue (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, f. 16); another plan dated 1721 only (*ibid.*, f. 105).

1722

- August. Drew various views (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, ff. 78, 92, 94, 104, 118; *Stonehenge*, Tab. XVII, XIX, XX).

1723

- July 4. Drew rough plan (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, f. 41); view from top of trilithon with Lord Winchelsea (*ibid.*, f. 149.)
- July 5. Drew view (*Stonehenge*, Tab. XXXII).
- July 29. Drew view (*Stonehenge*, Tab. XXXIII).
- August 6. Drew view of Cursus (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, f. 128); view of Stonehenge (*ibid.*, f. 50); various views (*Stonehenge*, Tab. XXIII, XXIX).
- August 7. Digging barrows (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, f. 45); drew view (*Stonehenge*, Tab. XXVI).
- August 9. Drew view at 7 a.m. (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, f. 150).
- August 18. Drew view of 'cell' (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, f. 146).
- August 28. Drew east end of Cursus (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, f. 127).
- September 2. Drew barrows near Stonehenge (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, ff. 40, 129; *Stonehenge*, Tab. XXXI).

1724

- May 11. Drew view looking towards Ratfyn (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, f. 169).
- June 2. Drew circular view from Stonehenge (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, f. 15); view from Avenue (*ibid.*, f. 36).
- June 3. Drew view along Avenue (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, f. 172); Vespasian's Camp (*ibid.*, f. 42).
- June 4. Drew rough plan (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, f. 18).
- June 6. Drew view of Stonehenge and Avenue (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, f. 24); view into Sanctum Sanctorum (*ibid.*, f. 142).
- June 8. Drew views of Avenue and Ratfyn (Bodl. Gough Maps 229, f. 171; *Stonehenge*, Tab. XXV).

V. THE COUNTRY PARSON

AT Stamford, the new Vicar of All Saints settled down with some enjoyment to his cure of souls. The medieval associations of the town, with its still extant remains of the college buildings which had been made as the result of the migration of students from Oxford in the fourteenth century, appealed to the antiquarian in Stukeley—he was childishly delighted when he was greeted by Mr. Peck, the local antiquary, not only as the Vicar, but with a string of titles derived from establishments within the parish which has a Pugnesque ring of unreality—‘Warden of the Augustin Fryers; Capellan of Bradecroft Chappel; St. Mary’s Chantry; President of Black Hall, Peterborough Hall, Sempringham Hall, Durham and Vaudy’,¹ to select an even longer list. No more was the busy antiquarian to be called out to visit a country patient, but could sit securely and cogitate uninterruptedly on Mosaic Chronology, of which a book in three parts was composed in 1731 and was presumably one of the sections of the work on Patriarchal Christianity of which only the Stonehenge and Avebury portions were in fact published.

But there was more practical archaeology, too; a large silver dish of first century Roman workmanship had been found at Risley Park in Derbyshire and Stukeley had been in communication about this as early as 1729, though it was not until seven years later that he read an account of it to the Society of Antiquaries, with a series of unfortunately

¹ Stukeley to S. Gale, 24 Dec. 1739 (SS i. 226). The original slip of paper with these titles written out is in the library of the Spalding Gentlemen’s Society.

erroneous conclusions about the early medieval inscription that had been added to the dish.¹ He had also formed a friendship with William Warburton, later to become Bishop of Gloucester and famous as a clerical controversialist with his *Divine Legation of Moses* (1738), but now incumbent of the living of Brent Broughton near Newark.² Stukeley composed a History of Stamford in the form of a dialogue between himself and Warburton, who appear disguised as 'Panagius' and 'Palaephatus'.³

This document contains an amusing example of Stukeley's ingenuous vanity. The protagonists in the dialogue are introduced each with a brief character-sketch, and that of 'Palaephatus', who is Stukeley himself, describes him as:

a person of curiosity, who had spent a series of years in the metropolis, to cultivate his mind in the circle of sciences: and who avoyding the allurements which Fortune there threw in his way, to accumulate wealth; thro' an irresistable fondness to nature, and the country-life, he by a resolution which amaz'd all his acquaintances when his reputation was not a little, now in the prime of life, he quitted the Town in 1726. . . . He secreted himself for a while, from the great, the learned and the noble of his acquaintance, for the serene pleasures of solitude, and contemplation. There the inbred seeds of religion blossom'd with fresh vigour, and formed in him a resolution of betaking himself to the sacred function: that by inoculating the knowledge of secular, upon divine learning, he might produce fruits more useful to the world.

There is a simplicity in this self-satisfied autobiographical entry that is disarming: we cannot dislike anyone who could write so absurdly and unaffectedly in his own praise.

In 1733 he received a visit from the Scottish antiquary, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, who had found him working in

¹ William Stukeley, *An Account of a Large Silver Plate* . . . (London 1736). In the Bodleian copy (Douce S. 501) is a letter to Stukeley from an unknown correspondent dated 2 Dec. 1729 on the inscription on the plate. For a modern account of the find, see *V.C.H. Derbyshire*, i (1905), 261.

² Letters between Stukeley and Warburton from 1722 to 1764 are printed by Nichols, *Illus.* ii, 1 et seqq.

³ The manuscript is in the library of Capt. Cragg of Threkingham Hall.

his garden when he had made an unexpected call at Grantham some years before. Sir John put up at the Bull at Stamford and immediately went to visit Stukeley. 'I found the Doctor in possession of the chief Living at Stamford and parson of the great Church,' wrote Sir John in his diary.¹ 'He has turn'd a little Enthusiastick but as a Divine it became him well. He entertain'd me with a view of all his Studies and Lucubrations, many of which were very learn'd and Laborious. I found him busy on a book in which he was to describe the Religion of the Druids and all their Temples and monuments, particularly Stonehenge in Wiltshire, near Salisbury. The Doctor draws very accurately and had made very neat drawings on these subjects.' They talked of Roman coins; Sir John 'carried the Doctor to the Tavern to sup with me', and next morning he breakfasted early with Stukeley and they set off to see Tickencote Church ('very old and by the Gothick manner') and 'went a Hunting of a Roman city about which the Doctor had not been well inform'd' and so was not discoverable. Stukeley seems to have been enjoying his incumbency—he 'look'd very smug and canonical', Sir John reported to Roger Gale after the visit.²

To the year 1736 belongs the first of what were to be the oddest of Stukeley's serial publications, *Palaeographia Sacra* No. 1. The sub-title of this is sufficiently surprising—*A Comment on an Ode of Horace, shewing the Bacchus of the Heathen to be the Jehovah of the Jews*—nor are we disappointed when we read farther beyond the short preface, in which Stukeley states he will print the original Ode (Horace, *Carm.* ii. 19) together with a parallel interpretation—'I will leave it to the reader's judgment, in short, and would not apall his gusto too much with a novel entertainment.' The Ode and its 'Paraphrastic Translation' open thus:

¹ 'A Toure into England in the year 1733' (Clerk Papers).

² Sir John Clerk to Roger Gale, 11 June 1733 (*Memoirs*, ed. Scottish Hist. Soc. (1892), p. 142 n.).

In Bacchum

Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
 vidi docentem (credite posterì)
 nymphasque discentes et aures
 capripedum Satyrorum acutas.

A Hymn to Jehovah

I saw the LORD (let future times believe)
 teaching to Israel's god-like race, a song
 of triumph; from Mount Sinai's rocky cliff
 eccho'd by Miriam and her female throng.

The Messianic interpretation of Virgil's *Pollio* eclogue in the Middle Ages seems really quite reasonable when compared with this delicious flight of fancy, which continues no less astonishingly through the entire Ode. Basically, of course, it was in the tradition of Bochart and Huet to equate Biblical and classical characters in this reckless manner.

Until the end of the last century there remained at Stamford an amusing relic of the medieval Oxford migration in the form of the brass knocker which gives its name to Brasenose College and which had been wrenched off its original door in the college and carried as a trophy to Stamford, there to become the emblem and talisman of a new Brasenose. In the summer of 1736 Stukeley was founding a literary and antiquarian society in the town, and, casting about for an appropriate name, decided on that of The Brazen Nose Society 'in memory of that antient College of the once flourishing University here'. The Society was to be 'a weekly conference for the promoting of useful learning sacred and civil, the knowledg of antiquitys and nature and for preserving the memorials of persons and things fit to be transmitted to posterity'. There were six founder-members as well as Stukeley, and a number of subscribing members by correspondence, bringing up the total number to about thirty.¹ The Spalding Gentlemen's Society was the obvious

¹ Bodleian MS. Eng. misc. e. 122. For the Brasenose knocker, cf. C. E. Mallett *Hist. Univ. Oxford*, i (1924), 157.

model for that at Stamford. In 1728/9 he had tried to found a similar club at Ancaster.¹

The first meeting was to be typical in its range of subjects—astronomy and the latitude of Stamford, lunar maps, a remarkable wasps' nest, a 'stone as big as a walnut, taken out of the bladder of a little Dutch dog', and a medieval seal were all discussed, and at later meetings we find experiments with an air pump and a microscope and, a great excitement, pictures projected by 'the Italian shades or magic lanthorn'. Stukeley kept the minutes assiduously for a short time, but the little square, vellum-bound minute-books, all labelled hopefully BRAZEN NOSE XII and so on, soon became the receptacle for his personal diary, and the Society lapses. We shall see how ten years later he tried to revive the moribund Society without success.²

In the winter of 1737 his wife, Frances Stukeley, died at the age of forty. By February 1737/8 he was considering the situation in a very practical light, and he is concerned, he says in a letter to Samuel Gale, 'to study how I may best improve this dispensation of Providence for His Glory and my own comfort', and as he is not yet fifty 'and think 'tis too soon to retire into a black box', he suggests that he and Gale should set up a joint menage with 'a house, a maid and a man, some little distance from town, at Totenham Cross, or Hampsted, or the like; where you are to repose when you sally out of fumopolis, whilst I make use of your urban palazzo in return'.³ But although things seemed to Roger Gale to have been settled by May of that year,⁴ the projected move did not take place, for Stukeley remained at Stamford, and in the next year married the sister of the two Gales, returning with her to Stamford.⁵ The new Mrs. Stukeley's

¹ Stukeley to Maurice Johnson, 15 Feb. 1728-9 (Spalding Gentlemen's Soc. MSS.); proposals in Cragg MSS.

² The blank books destined for the minutes of the Brazen Nose Society and afterwards used by Stukeley for his own Journal are Bodleian MSS. c. 122-40.

³ Stukeley to S. Gale, 2 Feb. 1737/8 (SS i. 299).

⁴ R. Gale to Stukeley, 5 May 1738 (SS i. 300).

⁵ For Mrs. Stukeley's marriage portion, see newscutting in Keiller MSS., Box I,

marriage-portion of £10,000, and the addition of the living at Somerby in Lincolnshire in the same year, helped his financial position to the extent of his being able to maintain two establishments from 1740 onwards, when for several successive years he spent the summer in the country at Stamford, but the winter months in London with his wife and family at a house in Gloucester Street.

In Stamford Stukeley had shown his customary enthusiasm in gardening, and had, as at Grantham, spent much enjoyable time in laying out and beautifying his grounds. His new wife was also a keen gardener, we gather from incidental correspondence, and it is in keeping with the dawning romanticism of the age that he should build a 'Hermitage' in the garden in 1738. A drawing survives¹ of this charmingly whimsical structure, with niches, pointed windows and a fountain, and surmounted by a very rustic stone arch insecurely carrying a pillar and globe, and we see it must have been very similar to the contemporary Hermitage at Richmond 'the Architecture of which is . . . very Gothique, being a Heap of Stones thrown into a very artful Disorder, and curiously embellished with Moss, and Shrubs, to represent *rude Nature*'² (Pl. VI).

During these years the forces of destruction and restoration were remarkably active among the churches of Stamford, and stained glass in particular was being removed and thrown away. Mr. Popple of St. Martin's had removed the stained glass from his church so that he should not need to wear spectacles, and Stukeley was delighted to note soon afterwards that blinds had to be fitted to the new clear-glass windows to cut out the overpowering glare from the sun.³

dated 13 Jan. 1739—'a Lady of great Beauty, and a Fortune of 10,000 l.'. The marriage took place in Gray's Inn Chapel. ¹ Bodl. Gough Maps 230, f. 411.

² *Flowers of Parnassus* (1736), p. 82, quoted by R. A. Aubin, 'Grottoes, Geology and the Gothic Revival' in *Studies in Philology* (Univ. of N. Carolina), xxxi (1934), 408-16. Gothic was already becoming fashionable in the 1730's: James Clerk writes to his father from Rome in 1733 that 'the modern Architecture is now turned into the Gothick manner of the most polite taste' (Sir John Clerk, *Memoirs*, ed. Scottish Hist. Soc. (1892), p. 143 n.). ³ Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. c. 122.

He was himself rescuing such glass as he could, bargaining with the glaziers as they carted it away on their barrows, and this was used to adorn the windows of his house and the garden 'temples' he was later to build.

From the time of Newton's death in 1727 until 1741 the Presidency of the Royal Society had been held by Sir Hans Sloane, who, while he had valiantly tried to carry on the great Newtonian tradition and had instituted certain important reforms in the Society, was by 1740 over eighty years of age, and for many years his duties had mainly been performed by proxy. It is characteristic of the changing intellectual temper of the time that the next president was one under whose administration the Society became a laughing-stock to the critics, and who was responsible for printing in the Transactions 'a much greater proportion of trifling and puerile papers than are any where else to be found'.¹ Martin Folkes, elected president in 1741, had no pretensions to being a profound scholar or scientist, and it is inconceivable that a dilettante of this kind could have been elected to a position of such outstanding eminence in the world of learning thirty years before. Stukeley was to quarrel with him about the publication of communications to the Society that even Folkes felt should not be printed in the Transactions, but Folkes stands pilloried to posterity in a passage in Stukeley's *Commonplace Book* that combines the epigrammatic unexpectedness of Aubrey with the vitriolic malice of Hearne:

Martin Folkes has an estate of near £3000 got by his Father in the Law. He is a man of no aeconomy. Before at age he married Mrs. Bracegirdle off the stage. His mother grievd at it so much that she threw her self out of a window and broke her arm. His only son broke his neck off a horse back at Paris. His eldest daughter ran away with a book keeper and who used her very ill. Quarrelling with Sir Hans Sloan about the Presidentship of the Royal Society, and being baffled, he went to Rome with his wife, daughters, dog, cat, parrot and monkey. There his wife grew religiously mad. He went to Venice

¹ C. R. Weld, *A History of the Royal Society* (1848), i, 424 et seqq.

and got a dangerous hurt upon his leg. Returning he was Successor to Sir Hans, President of the R.S. Losing his teeth, he speaks so as not to be understood. He constantly refuses all papers that treat of longitude. He chuses the Council and Officers out of his junto of Sycophants that meet him every night at Rawthmills coffee house, or that dine with him on thursdays at the Miter, fleet street. He has a great deal of learning, philosophy, astronomy: but knows nothing of natural history. In matters of religion an errant infidel and loud scoffer. Professes himself a godfather to all monkeys, believes nothing of a future state, of the Scriptures, of revelation. . . . He has been propagating the infidel system with great assiduity, and made it even fashionable in the Royal Society, so that when any mention is made of Moses, of the deluge, of religion, scriptures, etc. it generally is received with a loud laugh. . . . He dyed in a deplorable manner. Two years after, his daughters both married to indigent persons.¹

It is clear that there could be little in common between Stukeley, with his growing preoccupation with the mysteries of Revelation, Solomon's Temple, Isis and the Druids, and Folkes, grinning toothlessly whenever he brought up these matters at the Royal Society's meetings. But he seems to have attended regularly during the winter months he now spent in London, and his journal becomes for half the year an abstract of their proceedings. These abstracts only serve to underline the impression of the low level to which the debates of this august body had sunk, which one gathers from the published Transactions and Sir John Hill's entertaining squib dedicated to Folkes in 1751.²

As well as the Royal Society and the Antiquaries, from 1741 yet another antiquarian society was holding meetings in London.³ On 11 December of that year Stukeley was invited by Lord Sandwich to meet him and some other gentlemen at the Lebeck's Head tavern in Chandos Street,

¹ Stukeley's *Commonplace Book* (SS i. 98-100). 'Mrs. Bracegirdle' was, in fact, Mrs. Lucretia Bradshaw, 'a handsome woman, probably only of second-rate abilities', as the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* article on Folkes crushingly remarks.

² Sir John Hill, *A Review of the Works of the Royal Society of London* (1751).

³ Stukeley was amoved from the Society of Antiquaries for non-payment of subscriptions in 1740/1 and did not attend meetings again until his readmission in 1754 (see below, p. 172).

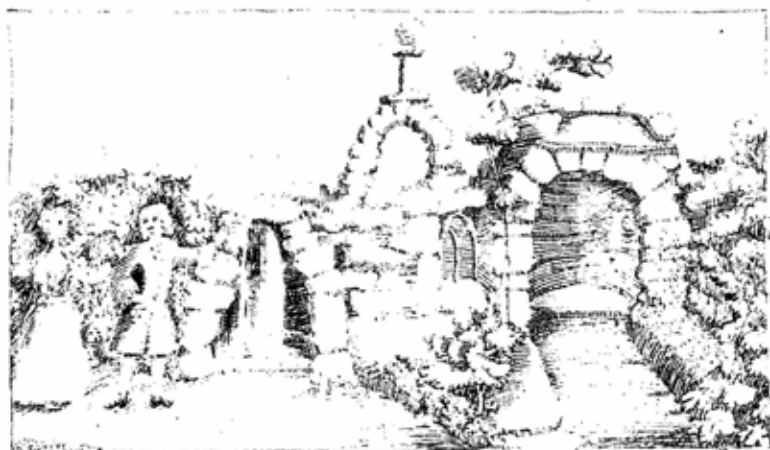
where were gathered Dr. Perry, Dr. Pocock, and a Danish traveller, Capt. Norden. All had travelled in the Near East and Egypt, and Norden was later to publish a handsome volume of Egyptian engravings. These four were constituted Founder Members of an Egyptian Society, and they then nominated Associate Members which included Stukeley, Folkes, and Milles, later to become known as the antiquarian Dean at whom Horace Walpole poked fun in letter after letter. Lord Sandwich was elected President under the appropriately oriental title of 'Sheich', and among other names brought up for future membership was the Duke of Montagu. Meetings were to be held every Friday fortnight from November to April.¹

At one of these meetings of the Egyptian Society, in January 1741/2, the Duke of Montagu was admitted a member, and seeing the sistrum that had been made and laid before the Sheikh as an emblem of office, he asked Stukeley the meaning of 'the so famous Egyptian rattle'. This elicited an impromptu discourse with an appropriate reference to Abraham and Genesis xv, which was later written out and sent to his Grace. It was the beginning of an odd friendship which was to have important consequences in Stukeley's later life.

John, second Duke of Montagu, was at this time, like Stukeley, in the early fifties, had succeeded to the Dukedom in 1709, and, after a youth employed in various Court appointments and with Marlborough in Flanders, had become chiefly known as the leader of the disastrous expedition to St. Lucia and St. Vincent on his appointment as Deputy-Governor in 1722.² He had a vein of eccentricity which puzzled his contemporaries but which must have found an answering chord in Stukeley's own curious character. He was passionately devoted to animals, and on his great estate of Boughton in Northants would have no cattle or horses killed, but brought to end their days peacefully

¹ Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 124, f. 85.

² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s.v.



The Garden at Stamford 1738.

STUKELEY'S GARDEN AT STAMFORD IN 1738, WITH MOCK
RUINS, ETC.



A view of the Duke of Montagu's bridge in Doughton park, designed by W. Stukeley, 1744.

DESIGN FOR A BRIDGE IN THE GOTHIC MANNER BY
STUKELEY, 1744



in a special paddock, while he was surrounded by dogs, the ugliest of which he favoured because no one else would be kind to it.¹ There is a sort of odd simplicity in all this which strikes one as very much akin to Stukeley's—less congenial perhaps were his practical jokes, which so exasperated his termagant mother-in-law, old Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, whose youngest daughter he had married. 'All his talents', she wrote in 1740, 'lie in things only natural in boys of fifteen years old, and he is about two and fifty. To get people into his gardens and wet them with squirts, and to invite people to his country houses, and put things into their beds to make them itch, and twenty such pretty fancies like these.'² But Lord Hailes, commenting on this, found himself bound in fairness to add:

He had other pretty fancies, not mentioned in the memoranda of his mother-in-law; he did good without ostentation. His vast benevolence of soul is not recorded by Pope; but it will be remembered while there is any tradition of human kindness and charity in England.³

Horace Walpole has also left on record his appreciation of the duke's good qualities. 'My father had a great opinion of his understanding', he writes to Mann in 1749, '... in short, with some foibles, he was a most amiable man, and one of the most feeling I ever knew.'⁴ This use of the word 'feeling' is significant: it is the quality later to be merged in 'sensibility' as one of the most esteemed emotional states of the Romantic Revival in the second half of the century. Stukeley and the duke were both Men of Feeling before the sentiment had become fashionable, and before Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* (1768) and Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* (1771) had set a literary seal upon this desirable emotion.

Stukeley, in a character sketch of the duke among his papers, mentions how he 'often observed a strange similarity of disposition' between himself and Montagu; how they

¹ Mrs. Arthur Colville, *Duchess Sarah* (1904), p. 285.

² *Memoirs of the Duchess of Marlborough*, ed. W. King (1930), p. 304.

³ *Private Correspondence of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough*, ii (1838), 196.

⁴ Walpole to Mann, 24 July 1749 (*Letters*, ed. Toynbee, ii, 400).

shared 'that tenderness toward and love of animals as takes great pleasure in doing kind things to 'em' and how both had the same taste 'in the Gothic architecture, in painted glass, in the open-hearted, candid, undesigning and free manner of conversation'.¹ He was soon a welcome and frequent visitor at Boughton, and for him no doubt the squirts were quelled and the itching powder unsprinkled. They went riding in the grounds, and Stukeley, fearful of the free-thinking tendencies his host might develop from contact with such as Folkes, would take the opportunity to say a word in season. 'And with this', he concludes a description of such a conversation in his diary, 'we arrived at the end of his Grace's territories, in the wood south of Weldon. I took my leave of him and he, in returning, will meditate on my discourse.'² On another occasion they

rode in his phaeton round the serpentine ridings in his woods, which I persuaded him to make, as a contrast to the straight ones. A flock of sheep happened to cross us, the Duke admired the prettiness, the simplicity, the innocence of the animal and how sorry he was when by chance he saw 'em killing one, he turn'd away his head, and could not bear to look at it.

Stukeley hereupon preached a short sermon on sacrifice and Adam and Eve—'and are we strictly and literally to believe this? Yes, says I, 'tis literally true. . . . 'These sort of discourses', Stukeley goes on, 'which I have often snatch'd opportunity of introducing to his Grace, had the desired effect, and he contemplated upon the matter seriously.'³

In the intervals of these delightful visits to Boughton life ran uneventfully at Stamford and in London in the winter. But in October 1742 he received a letter badly written, ill

¹ SS i. 114.

² Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 126, f. 30.

³ Ibid., f. 68. This beginning of landscape gardening at Boughton at Stukeley's instance is interesting: Shenstone's Leasowes was laid out in 1745 and Capability Brown was laying out roads in

'. . . that peculiar curve
Alike averse to crooked and to straight
Where sweet Simplicity resides. . . .'

soon after (cf. C. Hussey, *The Picturesque*, p. 141).

spelt, and containing an account of a new antiquarian discovery made accidentally in the course of digging. 'You being a Person very Curious in Things of Antiquity', the correspondent begins, 'I thought it would Oblige you to give you a short Account of a Place thought to be a very Grate Curiosity Latly discovered in this Town.' The town was Royston in Hertfordshire, and in removing a stone the workmen 'found it was Hollor' and that there was in fact a large 'Cavaty' beneath the street. 'So they then emadgingd that som very Grate Trashur was hid in that Place', but only found a 'Scul and som Hewman Bones', and conjecture was rife in Royston as to the nature of the discovery, for 'som think it was for a place of Worship in the Earliest times of Chrestyanaty . . . but all think it a Grate Curiosity.' This is a type of letter known to most British archaeologists when a find has been made in accidental digging, but it must have come as a surprise to Stukeley, as it does to us, to discover that his illiterate correspondent was in fact the local Member of Parliament, Mr. William Goodhall.¹

With characteristic impetuosity Stukeley immediately rode to Royston to see this 'Grate Curiosity'—Mr. Goodhall had written his letter on 15 October, and Stukeley was there on the 19th, examining and drawing the discovery. The site still exists and is still something of a mystery. It consists of a large bee-hive shaped underground chamber, cut in the solid chalk sub-soil of Royston, and in form, as Miss M. V. Taylor points out to me, resembles the 'Dene-Holes' of Kent and analogous sites in southern England. But whatever its origin, it was certainly used for religious purposes in the Middle Ages, for it is decorated with a series of low-relief sculptures on the chalk walls which include figures of St. Christopher, St. Katherine, the Cross of St. Helena, the Holy Family, the Conversion of St. Paul, &c., in a style probably of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. The cell, or hermitage, seems to have been filled up after the Dissolution of the Monasteries.²

¹ William Goodhall to Stukeley, 15 Oct. 1742 (SS ii. 196).

² *V.C.H. Hertfordshire*, iii. 254, with photographs of the sculpture.

Stukeley was not unnaturally intrigued by this strange discovery, and set to work to write an account of the cell and what seemed to him the probable circumstances of its construction. In 1743 he published a pamphlet entitled *Palaeographia Britannica No. 1* with a sub-title *Origines Roystonianae, or an Account of the Oratory of Lady Roisia de Vere, Foundress of Royston . . .* in which he set out to show that the underground chamber was a hermitage or oratory made for a Lady Roisia de Vere in about 1170, and that the carvings on the walls represented (very allegorically) historical scenes which could be identified and related to events in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There is much bogus philology and history in the pamphlet, although it is a fact that the name of Royston does show in its earlier forms (e.g. Crux Roaisie, 1184) that it is connected with some figure of the name of Rohesia.¹ However, Stukeley was by no means so far wide of the mark as he well might have been, except in going out of his way to interpret the straightforward sculpture in an allegorical manner.

But a brother clergyman, the Rev. Charles Parkin, Rector of Oxburgh in Norfolk, could not accept these views, and in 1744 produced a pamphlet of his own (though adorned with Stukeley's engravings) entitled *An Answer to, or Remarks upon Dr. Stukeley's Origines Roystonianae*, in which he demonstrated to his own entire satisfaction that the Royston oratory and cross were both Saxon. Stukeley felt that he had been affronted, and the memory of Lady Roisia slighted, by this, and in 1746 retaliated with *Origines Roystonianae II or a Defence of Lady ROISIA de Vere Foundress of Roiston, against the calumny of Mr. Parkin. . . .* A vast amount of irrelevant and inaccurate erudition on historical and antiquarian matters was here brought to confute Mr. Parkin, who in April 1747 was visited by a friend of Stukeley's, who reported that:

I reduced him at last to a very absurd behaviour in desiring me to

¹ *Place-Names of Hertfordshire* (Eng. Place-Name Soc., vol. xv, 1938), 161. The early forms are against an identification with Roisia wife of Eudo Dapifer. The base of the cross which the early forms of the place-name imply still exists.

acquaint you he had no personal pique against you. But with a great Horse laugh said that as you had called his Faith, Charity and Divinity into question it was incumbent on him to clear it up. . . . In short I have chagrined and confounded him plaguily and he was obliged to stand the Roast for six hours . . . but his Laugh was so loud and incessant at the conceit of his escape that I had no opportunity of saying anything. . . .¹

Despite the six hours' roasting, Parkin produced in 1748 *A Reply To the Peevish, Weak and Malevolent Objections brought by Dr. Stukeley* . . . to his previous pamphlet, and in a cloud of acrimony and historical fantasies the pamphlet war ceases.

In the intervals of compiling his essays on Lady Roisia, Stukeley was concerning himself in quite another activity, that of designing buildings in the Gothic style. As we have seen, since boyhood the practical approach to architecture had appealed to him, and in later years had come a growing interest in, and love for, Gothic. As a young man he had decried Hawksmoor's work at All Souls and had been enthusiastic for the classical mode of building, and as a Roman Knight he had denounced the Goths, but antiquarianism had led him by association to admire the work of the Middle Ages and to see no wrong in using it for modern ornamental purposes. His religious views, too, may have carried some weight, with a feeling for the historical continuity in English churches and cathedrals. At York in 1740 he thus describes the Minster:

The cathedral is an astonishing beauty, and produces an effect superior (in my opinion) to any building upon earth. I cannot persuade myself to except even St. Peter's at Rome. Beside the general proportions, wherein I think it exceeds all other cathedrals, the delicate whiteness and fine texture of the stone contributes much to its elegance. Add the painting of the windows, which is very intire, a little excepted. But after you have seen and contemplated this most magnificent structure, nothing can give you a new pleasure, but going into the chapter-house; grand and beautiful beyond imagination. I must needs prefer it to the Pantheon itself.²

¹ G. Burton to Stukeley, 30 Apr. 1747 (Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. c. 113, ff. 41 et seqq).

² Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 123, f. 78.

In the dim religious light of York Minster Stukeley may well have felt, as a minor poet was to express it some years later, that here was an answer to Folkes and the infidels:

Gothic the style, and tending to excite
Free-thinkers to a sense of what is right.¹

A contemporary enthusiast for Gothic was the architect Batty Langley, whose *Gothic Architecture improved by Rules and Proportions in many Grand Designs* was published in 1742 and whose fantastic umbrells, pavilions, and chimney-pieces were to become a byword for a rococo style as irresponsible as its rival, the Chinese mode, and which was to be ancestor to Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill in the 1750's.² But Stukeley, setting out as he did in 1744 to design a Gothic bridge for the Duke of Montagu's park at Boughton, approached the problem from the viewpoint of an antiquary who had personally examined and drawn Gothic buildings since boyhood, and was far from the Batty Langley frippery or the theatrical romanticism of Sanderson Millar and the builders of mock ruins. We may recall the equally solid approach made by the antiquary Browne Willis, who as early as 1713 had collected subscriptions and discreetly gothicized the designs for a plain classic church at Fenny Stratford. In the field of actual buildings and not merely in the designs of the inventive architect, we may mention Nicholas Revett's work in 1745 for the Hell Fire Club at Medmenham Abbey, though here the screen of ruined arches and the ivy-clad tower are hardly more authentically Gothic than Millar's ruins at Radway and Edgehill.³

The Boughton bridge was unfortunately never built, though Stukeley's drawings survive and there was a model

¹ William Woty, *Church-Langton* (c. 1770), quoted by Aubin, *Top. Poetry in XVIIIth Cent. England* (1936), p. 182: the reference here is, incidentally, not to a medieval building, but to the designs for a grandiose Gothic revival church.

² For these aspects of the early Gothic revival, cf. Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, *passim*. In the discussion of Stukeley's Gothic designs I owe much to conversations with Mr. Howard Colvin and Mr. John Betjeman.

³ Clark, *op. cit.* It is interesting to note that Sanderson Millar provided Borlase with notes on Rollright (William Borlase, *Antiquities . . . of Cornwall* (1769), p. 202).

made which still remains at the house. The bridge was to have been of three spans, over the central arch there being a sort of tabernacle with buttresses and crocketed arches in a fourteenth-century manner, surmounted with pinnacles, and it has a singular structural integrity as well as architectural originality. It seems that one Thomas Eayre, a builder and bell-founder, was called in to construct the bridge from Stukeley's designs, and thought after seeing the model that it would be 'a prodigus, curios and fine thing', and though he was not sure that the design as it stood would bear the weight of the central mass, he felt that a slight modification would make it practicable¹ (Pl. VI).

There also remains among Stukeley's papers a design for the duke's mausoleum drawn in the same year as that of the bridge. It was to be built as a chapel in the south-east angle of Weekley Church, and is a fan-vaulted square, with the duke's arms in the Garter forming a central roof-boss, and is lighted by two three-light windows with four-centred arches. The only monument to the duke was to be a plain inscribed marble slab in the centre of the floor and, consonant with his Grace's eccentric ideas, there was apparently intended to be provision for 'a young man and woman to be married over his grave on may day morning, with £100 portion'.²

In addition to these serious constructional problems, Stukeley had produced a fantastic building more in the Batty Langley manner in his garden at Stamford, in the form of a Temple of Flora in which Mrs. Stukeley might keep her pot-plants. 'The work is gothic that suits the place best', he writes to Samuel Gale, and an elevation of the entrance survives,³ showing a far less satisfactory interpretation of Gothic elements than does the bridge. 'The building is theatrical', he goes on, and it seems with some justice; inside there are 'bustos' and other curiosities, the windows have

¹ Thomas Eayre to Stukeley, 30 Nov. 1744 (SS i. 368).

² Bodl. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 50.

³ Bodl. Gough Maps 230, f. 409.

stained glass rescued from the destruction in the Stamford churches, and there is a cupola with a bell 'which I ring every morning, a most agreeable exercise'.¹

But despite these amusements he was beginning to tire of the provinciality of Stamford. In December 1745 he had attempted to revive the Brazen Nose Society, which seems to have become moribund soon after its original foundation. A new minute-book was started, with a page made out for the list of subscribers, with the words at the head 'We whose names are subscribed . . .', but the only name on the page is his own. Later pages contain the name of one honorary member and, rather pathetically, those of 'three carpenters, subscribers to the society'.² There was the Clergyman's Book Club, too, that he had founded seventeen years before 'with intent of making it a Vertuoso Club, but it prov'd absolutely abortive: for they had no taste for anything but wine and tobacco', and in 1743 he could hardly tolerate his fellow members there.³ One of his periodical moods of restlessness seems to have come upon him: he was curiously affected by small happenings, such as the death of Tit, the cat—'an uncommon creature and of all I ever knew the most sensible most loving and indeed with many other engaging qualities'.⁴ He returned to this little event again in his diary—the gardener had buried the cat 'under the mulberry tree going into Rosamund's Bower' without his knowledge, and on finding this out, 'I have almost taken a dislike to the garden: never car'd to come near that delightful place: nor so much as to look toward it.' The cat then receives a eulogy which deserves quotation:

The creature had a sense so far superior to her kind; had such inimitable ways of testifying her love to her master and mistress, that she was as a companion, especially so to me when according to custom, I smoak'd my contemplative pipe, in the evening at 6 o'clock. From the admirable endowments of the cat I took a great liking to her,

¹ Stukeley to S. Gale, 12 June 1747 (SS i. 390).

² Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 126.

³ Ibid., e. 128, f. 4.

⁴ Ibid. e. 126, f. 64.

which gave me so much pleasure, without trouble. Her death I griev'd for exceedingly.¹

In this unsettled state of mind he heard of the vacancy of the living of St. George's, Queen's Square, Bloomsbury, at the end of October 1747—a living in the Duke of Montagu's gift. He decided not to mention it to the duke, and in his diary tries to reassure himself that he loves the country, is nearly sixty, and is not ambitious. But in the middle of November he received a letter from the duke offering him the living. His diary now becomes very full and very agitated, and he was clearly faced with what seemed to him an impossible decision one way or the other. But a cousin visiting the town urged Stukeley to write 'accepting without reserve, and pressed me to set out instantly for London which I did after dinner'. He seems to have accepted his cousin's advice without demur. Probably he was glad to have his mind made up for him.

He received the presentation to the living and returned home on 2 December having reacted against the scheme and 'not at all resolved in my mind to accept my Patron's great favour'. He conferred with his friends Warburton and Bernard, and finally decided to abide by his decision.

The final pages of his diary for 1747 contain a long sustained self-justification for his action which reads oddly when we cannot see that the step from Stamford to a London living entailed such a drastic uprooting as Stukeley seems to have dreaded. He sees the Hand of Providence in every triviality of the past few years, which are enumerated in detail. 'When I collated all these occurrences and some more', he concludes, 'I discovered not obscurely the finger of Providence pointing to my removal.' His mind was at last made up, and he followed where Providence pointed, to the Rectory of St. George's, Queen's Square.

¹ Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 126, ff. 73-5, contains the whole story of Stukeley's move from Stamford.

VI. LAST DAYS IN LONDON

WHILE he was still resident in Stamford, in June 1747, Stukeley received a letter from a stranger, an Englishman resident in Denmark.

I receiv'd a letter [Stukeley wrote later] from *Charles Julius Bertram*, professor of the *English* tongue in the Royal marine Academy, *Copenhagen*, a person unknown to me. The letter was polite, full of compliments, as usual with foreigners, expressing much candor and respect to me; being only acquainted with some works of mine published.

Stukeley seems to have been not unnaturally surprised at this letter: he wondered how Bertram could have heard of him, and why he had written thus politely to a stranger in another country. As I have already mentioned, a fellow member with Stukeley of the Egyptian Society founded in 1741 had been a Dane, Captain Norden, and it is possible that he may have mentioned Stukeley to Bertram. At all events, Stukeley was delighted to enter into a learned correspondence with Denmark: he replied to Bertram in suitable terms, and this

produced another letter, with a prolix and elaborate *latin* epistle inclos'd, from the famous Mr. *Gramm*, privy-counsellor, and chief librarian to his *Danish* Majesty: a learned gentleman, who had been in England and visited our universities . . . he was Mr. *Bertram's* great friend and patron.¹

¹ Only one original letter from Bertram survives (p. 158), but the correspondence is referred to by Stukeley in his *Journal*, printed in SS, *passim*, and in his *Account of Richard of Cirencester* (published in 1757). For the Bertram-Stukeley episode, and the Richard of Cirencester MS., see J. E. B. Mayor's introduction to the *Speculum Historiale* (Rolls Series 1869, vol. ii), and H. J. Randall in *Antiquity*, vii (1933), 49-60. Unpublished correspondence between the St. John family, John Britton, and the

Gramm's letter seems to have contained a hint that Bertram had seen a medieval manuscript in Denmark containing information on Roman Britain, and in further correspondence Bertram furnished Stukeley with explicit information that the manuscript contained nothing more or less than 'a history of *Roman Britain*, which he thought a great curiosity: and an antient map of the island annex'd'.¹ Here matters rested during the troubled period of Stukeley's removal from Stamford and his taking up residence in Queen's Square rectory. Early in 1748, however, he received another letter from Bertram telling him that Gramm had died; the correspondence was renewed, and by the end of the year Stukeley had not only obtained a full account of the manuscript to which Gramm and Bertram had referred, but he had procured a transcript of the whole and a facsimile copy of the opening paragraphs.²

It was a document calculated to excite any British antiquarian. Purporting to have been written in the fourteenth century by a monk of Westminster, it contained an account of Roman Britain which, in addition to the known classical sources, apparently utilized hitherto unknown documents which rendered possible a far fuller account of the Roman province than any based on the texts extant in the eighteenth century. Indeed, Richard, the monk, expressly stated at one point that the Itinerary he copied (one of the most exciting things in the manuscript) was derived from a Roman general's memoirs—'*ex Fragmentis quibusdam a Duce quodam Romano consignatis et posteritati relictis sequens collectum est itinerarium*', his text runs. As well as the written text, there was a map of Roman Britain, again giving far more detail than those previously compiled from available sources.

Before dealing in detail with this remarkable document,

Rev. J. M. Gresley, now in Capt. Cragg's library at Threkingham, shows that a volume of thirty-one letters from Bertram to Stukeley, and one to Warburton, covering the years 1746-63, was still in existence early in this century. It was not in the Sotheby sales of 1924 and 1931 and has now vanished.

¹ The quotations are from Stukeley's *Account of Richard of Cirencester* (1757).

² The transcript is now Bodl. MS. Top. gen. g. 1.

it will be well to review briefly the manuscript sources for the topography of Roman Britain as Stukeley would have known them (and as indeed we know them to-day, the only significant additions being derived from place-names recorded on inscriptions). Apart from scattered references in the Greek and Roman geographers and historians from Pytheas in the mid-fourth century B.C. to Procopius in the sixth century A.D., and the explicit historical material in Caesar, Tacitus, Dio, and Ammianus Marcellinus (to mention the more important), the essential documents are five in number. Earliest are the latitude and longitude lists of Ptolemy (about A.D. 120); there follows the Antonine Itinerary, a road book covering the whole Roman Empire and probably compiled in the second century; the next document is an actual map of the Empire, compiled in the fourth century and copied in the thirteenth, known as the Peutinger Map. The *Notitia Dignitatum* is in effect an Imperial Army List, compiled in the early fifth century, but for Britain at least reflecting conditions at the end of the fourth, and the last document is the list of place-names compiled at Ravenna by an unknown geographer in the late seventh century.¹

All these sources were conveniently available, with comments, in Book III of Horsley's *Britannia Romana* of 1732: Ptolemy had never been entirely lost sight of throughout the Middle Ages, and maps were compiled from his data by Renaissance geographers such as Mercator, and were common knowledge by the eighteenth century. The Antonine Itinerary for Britain had been published with commentaries since Camden's day and, as we have seen, Roger Gale published his father's elaborate work on it in 1709. In addition to Horsley's text, three editions of the *Notitia* had been published in Europe between 1552 and 1729 and it was known to Camden. The Ravenna List had been published not only on the Continent, but by Roger Gale with his edition of the Antonine Itinerary.

¹ For the sources, see C. G. Stevens in *Antiquity*, i (1927), 189-96; for Ravenna, Richmond and Crawford in *Arch.* xciii (1949), 1-50.

Bertram's discovery of an additional source, previously unknown, was obviously of first-class importance. In the early stages of the correspondence the author had been referred to by Bertram as one Richard, a monk of Westminster, and Stukeley had gone to Widmore, the then Keeper of the Archives at Westminster Abbey, and inquired about historically minded monks on that foundation in the Middle Ages. Widmore pointed out to him that a monk Richard, styled 'of Cirencester' (*de Cirencestria*), was in fact the author of a *Speculum Historiale de gestis Regum Angliae* in the fourteenth century. Could this be Bertram's Richard, who was so interested in Roman Britain? Stukeley wrote in these terms to Bertram, and in future correspondence the monk of Westminster becomes Richard of Cirencester, though Bertram uses the form *Corinensis*, and not *de Cirencestria*. This was all most encouraging, and the foundling manuscript could now claim a respectable paternity, the title of which was confirmed by Casley, of the Cottonian Library, who declared that the facsimile of the opening paragraphs that Bertram had sent represented an authentic medieval hand.

The work, entitled *De Situ Britanniae et stationum quas Romani ipsi in Insula aedificaverunt*, was in two books, the second unfinished but apparently planned to be considerably shorter than the first. Book I had eight chapters, beginning with a geographical account of Britain as known to the ancients, continuing with the manner and customs of the aboriginal British, their religion, and the Druids. Then followed an enumeration of the natural resources of Britain and, in Chapter VI, a detailed account of the Roman administration of the country, the separate provinces, the Celtic tribal areas, and the towns. Following this, and forming Chapter VII, was an Itinerary on the lines of the Antonine road-book, but with many additional names, or the known ones in different positions. The map accompanying this contained at least 250 names of which 100 were, in Stukeley's words, 'wholly new or ill-placed by former writers', and the

concluding Chapter VIII gave an account of Ireland and of the islands around the British coasts. Book II, which comes to an abrupt end, has a Chapter I of British chronology from the Creation to the fifth century A.D., and the incomplete Chapter II listed the Roman emperors and governors of Britain.

While Bertram had the obvious prior claim to publication of this remarkable find, Stukeley could hardly have refrained under any circumstances from announcing the momentous discovery in England. But Bertram was delighted that this should be so, and encouraged Stukeley in reading a paper to the Society of Antiquaries on the *De Situ Britanniae*. The Society, now under the Presidency of the toothless and atheistical Martin Folkes, was at once electrified and delighted: Charles Julius Bertram of Copenhagen was unanimously elected a Fellow *honoris causa*.

By 1751 Bertram was able to write to Stukeley assuring him that arrangements for his edition of Richard of Cirencester were under way, and in 1755 he wrote a letter on the back of a proof of the map of Roman Britain with which the monk of Westminster had thoughtfully adorned his manuscript. 'It is a poor performance', Bertram writes, 'yet serves very well to express the antient copy, I am certain I have copied it with exceeding accurateness. Richard will now soon make his Appearance in Print.'¹ He goes on to say that he hopes to write a Life of Canute, and ends with compliments to Stukeley's wife and family. The whole correspondence, now lost with the exception of this letter, must have been on the most friendly, almost an intimate, footing by now.

In January 1747/8 there was published in Copenhagen a little volume entitled *Britannicarum Gentium Historiae Antiquae Scriptores Tres*, and containing the texts of Gildas, Nennius, and Richard of Cirencester, who thus appeared for

¹ This, the only surviving letter from Bertram, is in Bodl. Gough Maps I A, f. 5^v, and dated Copenhagen 16 Oct. 1755. For the fate of the other letters from Bertram, cf. *Antiquity*, vii (1933), 222.

the first time in print in the most respectable company. Bertram as editor appears on the title-page as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and the book is dedicated to this learned body: it further bears the *imprimatur* of the Rector of the Queen's University at Copenhagen. Opposite the title-page is a curious engraving in which, within a Gothic architectural setting of a medieval scriptorium, the *scriptores tres* are unexpectedly met together over the centuries and seem to be comparing notes. The nervous, rather scratchy technique is quite unlike the usual engraving of the period, and, unattributed, one's first guess would be a work of A. W. Pugin a century later. It is the work of an amateur, and as the signature shows was engraved by Bertram himself. He was a talented young man.

Stukeley himself published his *Account of Richard of Cirencester* in 1757, and from the time of these two publications Richard occupied an honoured place in the literature of Roman Britain until the nineteenth century. But already in 1795 Thomas Reynolds, four years later to publish an edition of the Antonine Itinerary and a reprint of Richard of Cirencester's text, openly declared his belief that the remarkable document was nothing more or less than a fabrication. This was not a popular view: the authenticity of the *De Situ* was championed by the antiquaries of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries such as Hutchins, Whittaker, and Roy; Gough expresses some doubts, but on the whole accepts it; Gibbon accepts the list of ninety-two Roman *municipiae, coloniae, &c.*, given by Richard, though elsewhere he seems wary, and refers to the work as 'feeble evidence'.¹ In 1827 the great Northumberland historian, John Hodgson, uncompromisingly denounced it as a forgery, and by the middle of the century German scholars at least (e.g. Wex in 1845) were able to show by searching textual criticism that this was undoubtedly the case. By the 1860's English historians had followed this lead and the inevitable con-

¹ Gibbon's copy of the *De Situ*, now in the possession of Mr. C. E. Stevens of Magdalen College, Oxford, has, unfortunately, no annotations or comments.

clusions to which it brought them, and with J. E. B. Mayor's monumental treatment of 1869, with an annihilating *apparatus criticus* brought to bear on the *De Situ*, Richard of Cirencester was finally discredited as an authority on Roman Britain. Charles Julius Bertram was given a foremost place among the most brilliantly successful forgers in literary history, with William Stukeley in the unenviable position of his dupe and enthusiastic sponsor.

It is an extraordinary story, and even to-day the traces of Bertram's forgery persist to confuse the archaeology of Roman Britain. Names of Roman sites derived from the *De Situ*, and it alone, still appear on maps which are not produced by the Ordnance Survey with its vigilant archaeological staff, and in the obscurer journals of local antiquarian societies Richard is as likely to appear as Stukeley's other protégés, the Druids. Yet the rejection of the *De Situ* as in any way an original work of the Middle Ages, let alone having a Roman basis, is founded on inescapable facts brought to light by patient textual criticism, in itself of such interest that it is worth while summarizing Mayor's elaborate arguments.

The issue is confused at the outset by the fact that Richard of Cirencester, a monk of Westminster in the fourteenth century and the author of an historical work which still survives, is an authentic enough character. As we have seen in following the sequence of the Bertram-Stukeley correspondence, the author of the *De Situ* is first referred to by Bertram merely as 'Richard, a monk of Westminster'—'a perfectly safe shot', as Randall remarks in commenting on this episode. Fortune played into his hands when Widmore's researches actually produced good documentary evidence not only for a monk of this name (which would be likely enough), but one who was known as the author of the genuine *Speculum Historiale*. Bertram does not seem to have known that the correct form of Richard's name in medieval Latin was *de Cirencestria*, and so invented the bogus form *Corinensis* (otherwise unknown) from the Latin *Corinium*, when

changing Richard of Westminster into Richard of Cirencester. But despite this slip, it is obvious that his case was enormously strengthened by the lucky accident arising from his choice of the same Richard.

However, the existence of the genuine *Speculum* provided the nineteenth-century critics with a means whereby the latinity and style of the *De Situ* could be tested. The sentence construction and phrasing were soon seen to be that of eighteenth-century scholars, and not that of the fourteenth century; the forms of place-names which occurred both in the *De Situ* and the *Speculum* did not agree, and whereas in the former work quotations from many classical writers, often obscure (and twice from the Greek), occur, in the genuine *Speculum* there is not even a quotation from a major Latin poet at first hand. The famous map can be shown to have been influenced not only by that of Ortelius in the sixteenth century, but by those of Bertram's contemporaries, such as Herman Moll and Morden.

The text can be analysed to show the source of every statement (except where names of places are sheer inventions of Bertram's own, like *Ad Fines*, *Ad Murum*, or *Ad Vallum*), and here we find Bertram making mistakes. He uses, for instance, readings which occur only in the earlier printed texts of Tacitus, he includes an editor's inserted clause in a passage of Caesar, he is misled by an error of Horsley's, and, relying on Camden for a quotation from Lucan, makes a false quantity by copying Camden's *Thetis* instead of the genuine *Tethys*. Some information may even have come from Stukeley's own works, such as the identification of *Sorbiodunum* as a *praesidium*, while Camden, Horsley, and Baxter are extensively used throughout. 'Writers are not wanting, who assert that Hercules came hither and established a sovereignty', the bogus Richard is made to remark, but the only relevant classical source for the legend (Ammianus Marcellinus, quoting Timagenes) takes Hercules no farther than the coast of Gaul. This was, however, eagerly followed up by Aylett Sammes in his book of 1676 (see

above, p. 121), in which the coming of Hercules to Devonshire is confidently asserted (on no evidence at all), and this idea was enthusiastically adopted by Stukeley in *Stonehenge and Abury*. Bertram must have known how delighted Stukeley would be to have authority for this coming of Hercules, and inserted the statement accordingly, though it is interesting that he is very careful in his chapter on Celtic religion and the Druids not to go beyond the limits of the classical authorities, and so in no way to encourage Stukeley's peculiar ideas about the priesthood.

The 'facsimile' of the opening paragraphs of the *De Situ* is as spurious as anything else connected with the work, but it shares something of the ingenious quality of the rest. It was not easy for Bertram to come by a knowledge of palaeography, but he does seem to have consulted some manuscript specimens. Dr. R. W. Hunt has very kindly given me his views on the 'facsimile':¹

At first glance it looks quite plausible, the heading 'Sequitur . . .' especially so. The formula has a genuine ring, and I should think he was following a MS pretty closely. The text is not so good, but hardly worse than some published engraved facsimiles of the period. Where it does go wrong is in the abbreviations. . . . These are suspensions of a type never found in genuine medieval MSS, and, if Casley had tried to read the text, and not just gone on the general impression made by the specimen, I find it hard to see how he could have thought it genuine.

I should have thought this script on which Bertram was modelling his hand was 13th century rather than 14th.

On the whole Bertram's forgery does not deserve the Olympian denunciation it received from J. E. B. Mayor in 1869, who found in its maker 'a forger alike contemptible as penman, Latinist, historian, geographer, critic; imposing upon the members of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies and of the two ancient universities'. A better estimate is that of the writer of the *D.N.B.* article: 'the ingenuity and learning displayed in Bertram's forgery are really extraordinary,

¹ In a letter, 19 July 1947.

and fully account for the unparalleled success the imposture obtained'. It adds to the jest when we discover that when Bertram wrote to Stukeley he was not even the person he professed to be—he was no sedate don at the University of Copenhagen, but a young man of twenty-four *in statu pupillari*, petitioning the University in that very year, 1747, for admission to study history, antiquities, and philosophy, and in the next applying for a licence to give public lectures in the English language. The *De Situ* is, in fact, a superb undergraduate's joke, conceived with brilliant impudence and carried out with an ingenious learning.

Bertram was a shrewd enough judge of the standards of contemporary scholarship. It was not only Stukeley who was deceived, but the whole learned world, and this affords a startling commentary on the decay of historical studies by the middle of the eighteenth century. It is surely inconceivable that such a forgery could have succeeded sixty years earlier, when the palaeographical acumen of Wanley and his colleagues, and the vast knowledge of medieval latin texts of the whole great fraternity of historical learning, would have been brought to bear upon it, with the inevitable result that the *De Situ* would have been relegated to oblivion with the *Epistles of Phalaris*.¹

In the intervals of the agreeable archaeological excitements afforded by the correspondence with Bertram, Stukeley was settling down to enjoy his life in London. The difficult decision, and the regrets for leaving the country, seem to have been soon forgotten: he had a disposition which made him able to take pleasure in whatever circumstance he found himself, once the worry of the actual move was over. His patron, the Duke of Montagu, died in 1749, and in the same year he was concerned with the application to George II for a Royal Charter for the Society of Antiquaries, which was

¹ It appears that Bertram contemplated some sort of a sequel to his first forgery, for the Rev. John Hutchins, the Dorset historian, asked Stukeley 'Does Mr. Bertram publish Richard of Cirencester's Saxon history?' in 1763 (J. Hutchins to Stukeley, 13 Feb. 1763; SS ii. 128).

granted in 1749/50, with Martin Folkes as 'the First and Modern President'.¹ Apart from his official duties as Secretary, from the foundation of the Society until his removal to the country in 1727, he seems to have taken little part in the business of the Society, and in his Journals it is the Royal Society which appears as the main focus of his intellectual interests in later life, though after his readmission in 1754 he still continued to read papers to the Antiquaries until the end of his life, latterly, alas, raising a laugh among the more irreverent Fellows present.²

At this time there was a topical London scandal which formed the subject of much comment and amusement.

I sing not of Battles, nor do I much chuse
With too many vict'ries to burden my Muse,
I sing not of Actions that rise to Renown
But I sing of a monstrous huge *Bridge* tumbling down.

Thus the popular broadsheet ballad.³ The Westminster Bridge controversy dated back to the 1720's, when the pamphlet-war began which was to last intermittently for twenty years.⁴ Mr. Price, the 'late ingenious Mr. Hawksmoor', and Mr. Batty Langley had all produced designs for the projected structure,⁵ and though an Act was passed in 1736, it was not until 1738/9 that Lord Pembroke laid the first stone of the western middle pier of a bridge designed by a Swiss engineer, Labelye.⁶ The work continued slowly, with Stukeley's friend Andrew Jelf as one of the two masons in charge, and the bridge was brought to some sort of completion by 1748.

¹ *Royal Charter and Statutes of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (1946), pp. 5-11.

² Cf. letter from Charles Godwyn to John Hutchins, 23 Dec. 1763: 'He [Stukeley] sometimes tries the patience of the Antiquarian Society with a dissertation, which never fails of exciting laughter' (Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* viii. 240).

³ *The Downfall of Westminster-Bridge: or My Lord in the Suds. A New Ballad* (n.d.).

⁴ For the Westminster Bridge controversy, see John Summerson, *Georgian London* (1945), pp. 95-8.

⁵ John James, *A Short Review of the several Pamphlets and Schemes . . . in relation to Building a Bridge at Westminster* (1736).

⁶ Anon (but B.M. Catalogue suggests Labelye), *The Present State of Westminster Bridge . . .* (1743).

But it was now perceived that Labelye's design was faulty, and one of the piers of the bridge, built on insufficient foundations, was sinking. Batty Langley was delighted, and immediately published a pamphlet shrill with abuse of the Commissioners who had agreed that 'the *Honour* of the Invention and the Profits of the Imployment should be violently, if not villainously risked from me (an *Englishman*) by an *INSOLVENT IGNORANT, ARROGATING Swiss*' but triumphant that the bridge was collapsing. An engraved frontispiece gives Langley's rejected design for the bridge and in one corner is a gallows with a dangling figure labelled 'The Swiss Imposter rewarded, as his Ignorance justly deserves'.¹

Stukeley's architectural zeal was fired by this, and he immediately produced his own design to remedy the sinking pier by some sort of relieving arch, and brought this to the notice of the authorities.² According to his own statement this was adopted with success, but as the bridge at Westminster was itself replaced by another in the nineteenth century, we cannot to-day examine the structure and trace in it Stukeley's work.

During these years Stukeley's attention was turning more and more to the Emperor Carausius and his coins, and he was eventually to publish several works on this subject, and to write still more that remain in manuscript.³ Other people were interested in the same subject—the Frenchman Genezbrier had produced a *History of Carausius* in 1740,⁴ and in England, Dr. John Kennedy was also collecting Carausius coins and was later to write on them. And now the great Dr. Mead comes back into the picture, having purchased a silver coin of Carausius which struck him as such a rarity that he presented it to the King of France. Kennedy obtained a sketch of the coin and showed it to Stukeley in August

¹ Batty Langley, *A Survey of Westminster Bridge, as 'tis now Sinking into Ruin* (1748).

² Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 127, f. 66v.

³ *The Medallie History of Carausius*, Book I, 1757, Book II, 1759, and various drafts, &c., in Keiller MSS.

⁴ *Histoire de Carausius, Empereur de la Grande-Bretagne* (Paris, 1740).

1750,¹ and both seem to have agreed that the legend on the reverse, which showed a female bust, was not FORTVNA, but ORIVNA. It is extraordinary to think that such a remarkable reading should have been preferred to the obvious conclusion that the letters of *Fortuna* were incompletely visible, but even more astonishing that this confident misinterpretation should have been made, not from the actual coin, but from a drawing. From first to last in the not very edifying 'Oriuna' controversy neither Kennedy nor Stukeley saw or handled the original coin, which remained in the Cabinet of Medals in France.

Kennedy was the first to publish this momentous discovery in a *Dissertation on Oriuna* (1751), in which he claimed 'her' to be the guardian goddess of Carausius, though he mentions in passing not only the suggestion that the legend really read *Fortuna* but that others had thought 'her' the wife of Carausius. Neither possibility could, he felt, be entertained seriously. This latter idea was, in fact, the view of Stukeley, who wrote an essay to prove this point in the following year, published as *Palaeographia Britannica*, No. III in 1752 (the earlier numbers having dealt with the underground cell at Royston). Kennedy answered with *Further Observations* . . . in 1756, Stukeley's *History of Carausius* appeared in 1757, and was followed up by two acrimonious pamphlets by Kennedy.

The whole affair reflects no credit on either of the participants, or on the contemporary standards of numismatics and allied studies. While one cannot exonerate Stukeley from what amounts to credulous stupidity, one must remember that Dr. Kennedy was no better, and that no individual antiquary nor any organized body such as the Society of Antiquaries so much as suggested that the whole matter could effectually be cleared up by common sense and a critical examination of the coin in question.

Stukeley's work on the coins of Carausius, as we can

¹ Documented by entry in *Journal*, Aug. 1750. (Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 128; original sketch of coin on f. 59v.)

judge it to-day, contains little 'beyond a handful of brilliant guesses', to quote a modern numismatic authority.¹ In one or two attributions of Carausian coins to British mints, Stukeley (probably accidentally) seems to have made really correct identifications—with regard to the *clausentum* mint Mattingly says 'it is one of those few cases in which his intuition was triumphantly right'. But, beyond this, there is little to his credit in the voluminous books of notes and drafts of Histories of Carausius that he so laboriously compiled in the later years of his life.

Stukeley's interest in coins, and especially those of the pre-Roman British princes, had continued since those early days when the Antiquaries set up their Committee to examine the whole problem of the coins of Britain from the remotest times. He continued to collect drawings and notes on British coins until his death, and made drafts of a work on *The Medalllic History of the Most Antient Kings of Britain*² which was never published, though his son-in-law, Richard Fleming, published after his death twenty-three of the engraved plates prepared for this work.³ The attribution of coins of this type to the pre-Roman Britons had been made by Lhuyd, and in the eighteenth century there were many curious essays towards their interpretation. There was that of Pettingal which, said Sir John Evans, 'shows a considerable amount of learning, but an insufficient acquaintance with facts and the usual course of events', or Samuel Pegge's ideas that could only be stigmatized as 'supremely ridiculous'. The coins published by Fleming from Stukeley's drawings are unfortunately very inaccurately depicted, but (to quote Evans again) the plates 'have the redeeming feature of occasionally presenting, side by side with the coins of Cunobeline, Roman coins, from which Dr. Stukeley thought, and occasionally with much show of reason, the types to have been derived'.⁴

¹ H. Mattingly in *Antiquity*, xix (1945), 122.

² More than one draft in Keiller and Cragg MSS.

³ *Twenty-three Plates of the Coins of the Ancient British Kings* (n.d.).

⁴ John Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* (1864), chap. i.

In one instance modern research on British coins has shown Stukeley to be correct. It should be explained that, of the pre-Roman inscribed coinage of Britain, certain coins can be connected by their abbreviated inscriptions with Belgic princes and dynasties whose names are known in their full romanized forms in the pages of classical writers. There are other individuals striking coins, however, whose names, in the shortened form in which they appear on the coins, are known from no other sources. When Evans wrote in 1864, a coin of a class with the inscription ANDOC, drawn by Stukeley in his Plate IV, No. 7, had the name with one extra letter, reading ANDOCO, but no actual example of the coin was known, and Stukeley's drawing was the sole authority for this fuller version of a name otherwise unknown. But by 1940, three specimens had been found, 'showing that Stukeley's drawing was substantially correct', so by a cipher, at least, he can claim to be the first to add a little substance to this rather shadowy relative of Tasciovanus.¹

It is interesting, in connexion with the representation of horses in a distinctive Celtic art-style on many British coins, to find that one of Stukeley's daughters, Anna, had acquired sufficient familiarity with her father's drawings and coin cabinet to recognize the White Horse of Uffington as essentially in the same art tradition. In 1758, when she had become a Mrs. Fairchild, she went on a visit to Berkshire and sent back to her father an account of White Horse Hill and the chambered tomb of Wayland Smith's Cave: 'The figure of the horse on the side of the hill is poorly drawn, though of immense bulk: but', she says, 'very much in the scheme of the Brittish horses on the reverse of their coins.'² Anna was an acute observer, and it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the White Horse was once again recognized as an Iron Age monument rather than an alleged Saxon memorial of the Battle of Ashdown.

¹ Derek Allen in *Archaeologia*, xc (1944), p. 20, n. 3.

² *Journal*, 3 Oct. 1758 (SS ii. 8). I drew attention to this identification in *Antiquity*, viii (1934), 230. (For the Uffington White Horse, *ibid.*, v (1931), 37-46.)

In the 1750's Stukeley was not without his usual wide range of interests. There was the 'Oriuna' controversy in the field of archaeology; the great earthquake gave an opportunity for a telling sermon, papers to the Royal Society, and a little book on the *Philosophy of Earthquakes, Natural and Religious*, in 1750. He claimed that the phenomena associated with earthquakes were the result of electrical disturbances in the air, the actual movement of the earth being a secondary effect of these. Horace Walpole liked this idea—he writes to Mann of the earthquake—'one Stukeley, a parson, has accounted for it, and I think prettily, by electricity—but that is the fashionable cause, and everything is resolved into electrical appearances'.¹

In 1753 the work of landscape gardening in progress in the grounds of Kew House, the residence of the Princess Dowager, brought to light what can now be recognized as a Late Bronze Age hoard of socketed axes and other tools, broken for use by a founder. Who better qualified to explain these curious antiquities than Dr. Stukeley? His advice was sought, and in the summer of 1754 he visited Kew, was shown the site and the find, and returned home to write up an account of the 'Druid celts' to present to the Princess. In early October an audience was arranged, and Stukeley was to be found waiting at the garden door for the approach of the Royal party who were walking in the grounds. As they drew near he eagerly stepped forward, to be recalled to a proper sense of decorum by a gentleman usher, but the Princess called to him by name 'and after many kind expressions of thanks for my letter, conducted me to her apartment, where she pulled off her bonnet, and we conversed face to face for about half an hour'.²

It was a memorable conversation. They talked—or perhaps it was mostly Stukeley who talked—of the Druids, patriarchal religion, oaks, acorns, and mistletoe; of the bronze hoard, of Stonehenge (the Princess assured Stukeley

¹ Walpole to Mann, 19 May 1750 (*Letters*, ed. Toynbee, i. 447).

² Journal, 1753/4 (SS iii. 210-12).

that she had read his book), and of the Royal Society. The royal condescension, the informal tête-à-tête, the interest in antiquarian studies—all these must have raised Stukeley to a luminous Druidic heaven. He returned home carrying a branch of oak picked up in the garden, acorn-heavy, symbolic. Passing the house of Mrs. Peirson, to whom at that time he professed a platonic though sentimental devotion, he saw the servant come out and sent her the oak bough as 'a present from the royal Archdruidess, to her sister Druidess'. His Journal goes on, 'My Lord Archdruid Bathurst ordered me to meet him at dinner. . . .' On this wonderful autumn day everyone was a Druid.¹

Mrs. Peirson must be explained. She was the married sister of the Rev. Mr. Foote, with whom Stukeley came into contact over coins of Carausius, and under the name of Miriam constantly appears in the journals and letters of this period. There is a panegyric in his Journal about her, a 'bosom friend, one exactly of one's own disposition . . . a female of a most enlarg'd understanding' who 'enters readily into the secret of religious antiquity',² and one recalls the poem of a century later, with its telling lines—

On firmer ties his joys depend
Who has a polished female friend.³

There is no doubt that Stukeley, now between sixty-five and seventy years of age and his wife still alive (she died aged seventy in 1757), was indulging in a tender romantic friendship with the middle-aged and intellectual Miriam. There is an odd letter in which he quotes with approval a dictum of Apollonius that it becomes a wise man and a philosopher to deceive the world, and urges prudence so that their relationship should be 'out of sight and the understanding of the Vulgar'.⁴ It would not do for gossip to centre on the Rector of St. George's.

¹ Journal, 5 Oct. 1754 (Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 135, f. 14).

² Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 121, f. 102.

³ The Rev. Cornelius Whur, *Village Musings on Moral and Religious Subjects* (1837).

⁴ Stukeley to 'Miriam' (Mrs. Peirson) 2 Oct. 1754 (SS i. 86-9).

In 1755 Stukeley was to make a visit to Oxford for the first time since his interview with Hearne, and under rather interesting circumstances. One of his parishioners, living in East Street near Red Lion Square, was a scholar named St. Amand, who died in 1754 and bequeathed his library and manuscript notes to the Bodleian Library, and Lincoln College, Oxford, with Stukeley as one of his executors. On St. Amand's death he therefore set about having the library catalogued, and for this work found a literary hack who was none other than Alexander Cruden, the author of the famous Biblical Concordance, who the year before had recovered from the third of his periods of insanity and was still, to say the least of it, an eccentric character, styling himself 'The Corrector' of the morals of the people of England.¹

In May 1755 Stukeley set out personally for Oxford with the St. Amand collection in twenty-seven packing-cases, and on the 23rd of this month dined with the Vice-Chancellor, George Huddesford, after handing over the collection and obtaining the signatures of Huddesford and of Isham, Rector of Lincoln, to a form of receipt on the fly-leaf of one of the two copies of the catalogue that Cruden had produced.² He returned to London, and in July sent a further box of St. Amand's coins and papers to the Bodleian with a covering letter to Mr. Owen, Bodley's Librarian.³ Later in the month he writes to an unnamed correspondent in Oxford, who must be either Owen or Huddesford, thanking him for a letter which had been delivered by Cruden—'I am glad the books are safe, but you are not to give any person any premium concerning them. The terms of the will require that everything should come free to the University. We design to give

¹ One of the two copies of the catalogue of the St. Amand bequest in Bodl. Library Records is headed 'The Catalogue taken in September 1754 by Alexander Cruden, M.A.' For Cruden's life, see Edith Olivier, *The Eccentric Life of Alexander Cruden* (1934).

² Journal (Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 135, partly printed in SS iii. 166, 274) and catalogues in Bodl. Library Records.

³ Note in St. Amand Catalogue by Stukeley.

Mr. Cruden his two guineas.¹ From this it appears that Cruden had tried to obtain money from somebody in Oxford on account of his compilation of the catalogue; he is known to have come to Oxford on 9 June 1755 and to have stayed there nearly a month in a vain attempt to correct the morals of the University, and to have dined more than once with the Vice-Chancellor and with Mr. Owen at Jesus.² It is an interesting and unexpected glimpse of one of the outstanding eccentrics of the time.

The last ten years of Stukeley's life were to be relatively uneventful. His wife died in 1757, his daughters were married, and he lived at the Rectory of St. George's, Queen's Square, looked after by a housekeeper. There were still the meetings of the Antiquaries to attend, where he might discourse on British coins or prove the Druids no idolaters, but people laughed, and there had been that difficulty when he was amoved from the Society for non-payment of subscriptions, in 1740, though he was readmitted in November 1754 without payment of a fine.³ He compiled a History of the Society of Antiquaries in 1752 (Soc. Ant. MS. xi; another version dated 1760 in Keiller MSS.), but it tells one nothing not already contained in Hearne's edition of the *Curious Discourses* and in the other sources referred to on p. 41, above. But on one occasion at least the Society seems to have supported Stukeley against his critics. Mr. Willis of Andover, who as we have seen made certain very pertinent criticisms of Stukeley's woefully inaccurate plan of Roman Silchester, had gone so far as to prepare an abstract of his points of disagreement, and to have this read at a meeting of the Antiquaries by the Hon. James West in the 1750's, but 'it was not so well regarded by those Gentlemen, as I had been too free in exposing the errors of so worthy a

¹ Bodl. MS. Rawlinson Letters 108, f. 223.

² Edith Olivier, op. cit., p. 175. *Alexander the Corrector's Earnest Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain* (1756), p. 22.

³ Society of Antiquaries Minutes, 22 Jan. 1740/1; 2 Nov. 1754; 14 Nov. 1754. Despite his amoval, Stukeley is recorded as attending a meeting on 19 Nov. 1741, but he may have come as a guest.

Member'. It is rather unfortunate that Mr. Willis's strictures all seem to have been well founded.¹

At the Royal Society again there was trouble—his papers were turned down, and were not printed in the *Transactions* although they showed so conclusively that sponges were not living creatures or that the Deluge took place in the autumn.² However, there was a new attraction in the recently opened British Museum Library, where there were still but few readers—two or three literary hacks and a nervous, shy man who would spend four or five hours a day there, and to whom Stukeley gossiped, little knowing he was talking to the poet Thomas Gray, who was in his poems to give a wide currency to the romantic ideas about Druids and bards that Stukeley had unwittingly started with his megalithic investigations in the 1720's. Gray was scornful of Stukeley and his 'nonsense', and was irritated by the garrulous old man interrupting his reading in the Museum with 'coffee-house news', but his debt to the Druids was enormous, if unacknowledged, and the influence of *Stonehenge* and *Abury* can be traced in his work.³

The royal patronage, so delightfully begun that October day at Kew, was continued within the next few weeks following his first visit. There were further audiences with the Princess and with Prince Frederick: she was presented with a copy of the *Carausius* book and *Oriuna* bound in gold and purple. At one audience she asked Stukeley why he did not go abroad and study antiquities there: 'I answered that I loved my own country and that there was curiosity and antiquity enough at home to entertain any genius.' He then drew the Princess's attention to the fact that the Roman Wall was at that moment being pillaged for stone to build the new military roads in Scotland, and followed this up with a very

¹ Richard Willis to Stukeley, 11 July 1760 (Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. c. 114, f. 325).

² Cf. Weld. *Hist. Roy. Soc.* i. 326.

³ Gray to Rev. James Brown, 8 Aug. 1759 (*Letters*, ed. Tovey (1904), ii. 95). For Gray and the Druids, cf. E. D. Snyder, 'Thomas Gray's interest in Celtic', *Modern Philology*, xx (1914), 559-79; *ibid.*, *The Celtic Revival in English Literature* (Cambridge, Mass. 1923), esp. chap. iii.

directly worded letter urging legislation to stop the destruction. 'Is it not to be regretted', the letter runs, 'in an age of Building and Architecture, that this British boast and glory should be destroyed.' And as for seeing the monuments of the Roman Empire, 'must we send our Nobility and young folks innumerable, to spend immense sums of money yearly in foreign countrys for that purpose, and have our own unvisited, but what is worse, doomed to be destroyed, and *that* under a public sanction?'¹ The appeal has a modern ring, and though it was foredoomed to be ineffective, we can recall with gratitude this determined effort by Stukeley to interest authority in ancient monuments.

In November 1757 Stukeley had occasion to bring this matter of the destruction of Hadrian's Wall to the Society of Antiquaries in a lively report² which details the depredations from Newcastle to Carlisle 'all under sanction of the Government, which we may well accuse of supine indolence, as to this affair'. And, in addition to this, he has another instance of a threatened ancient monument to bring to the attention of the Society.

It appears that at Stukeley's instance oak posts had been set up near the base of Waltham Cross, to preserve it from injury by traffic passing too close. First one and then another of these had been broken, and on his last visit he had found that the ground had been dug away so as to endanger the actual stability of the Cross. He 'found, on enquiry, that the authors of this unworthy violation of so noble a monument, were the Commissioners of the turnpikes, or their senseless agents', and so he wrote to the owner, Lord Monson. He had taken instant action, Stukeley had met his steward on the site, and a sound brick wall had been built to protect it. But he goes on

I shall make this general reflexion, that with grief I discern us dropping into Gothic barbarism. The revival of learning came among us, with Reformation of Religion. We are now become tired of Religion, in its

¹ Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 135, ff. 19 et seqq.

² Society of Antiquaries MSS.

honest and open dress, true religion, and with it goes backward true learning. One species of it we have here before us, the neglect and defacing antient monuments.

Much of the archaeological work done during his last years is worthless, though of interest for the curious development of his religious theories (as in the essay on 'The Brill', which he conceived to be a Roman camp at St. Pancras),¹ yet there is one piece of work worth mentioning for its own sake. The evidence for this survives rather mysteriously in a set of engravings which were never published and for which I can trace no notes or original drawings: of the engravings, the only set seems to be that in the Chelmsford Public Library. It consists of five unique proofs from Stukeley's drawings made in 1759, engraved by Benzech, of earthworks at Colchester which in the main are now known to belong to the fortification of the Belgic capital at that place. We know from a brief note in Stukeley's Journal that on 13 August 1759 he 'survey'd the wonderful works of Cuno-beline' at Colchester and Lexden, and he is known to have been a friend of Morant, the Colchester historian, who in 1748 had published an earlier survey of the earthworks made in 1722. His drawings, which survive in these five engravings, have considerable value as a representation of the remains as he saw them, for here no religious partisanship could intrude to alter the archaeological facts.²

At home, in the intervals of parochial duties, there was always writing to be done. So many ideas came into his head — 'I invented a new method of military tents without the embaras of rope staked into the ground. 'Tis after the fashion of the Mosaic tabernacle' he notes in his Journal one day,

¹ There is, in fact, no Roman camp at St. Pancras, but Stukeley may have been misled by the remains of Civil War earthworks on the site (R. A. Smith in *Arch. lxxviii* (1917), 251).

² Attention was first drawn to these engravings by Mr. E. J. Rudsdale; for Colchester and the earlier surveys of the earthworks (including these), see C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *Camulodunum* (Soc. Ant. Research Committee Reports, 1947), p. 8. The four letters from Stukeley to Morant in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 37222, ff. 123, 125, 134, 172) throw no light on these drawings.

and on another, 'I found out the true nature of Solomon's Temple',¹ and, again, 'I observe derry down, the burden in Robin Hood songs, is a remain of the Druids'. Aaron's Pectoral, the Origin of Letters, Ovid's Banishment, and Zoophytes—quire after quire of small quarto paper was filled with his distinctive, clear writing,² now becoming large as his eyesight weakened, though he did not wear spectacles until 1763, and on his first appearance in them in church preached, with his charming touch of humour, on the text 'Now we see through a glass, darkly.'³

His sermons must have been remarkable, even in an age of churchmanship in which the most varied philosophical dissertations were expected from the pulpit. Some were topical—'On the Fast for the War', 1762; 'On the Peace', 1763; 'On the Eclipse of the Sun' in the same year.⁴ On this last occasion he postponed his morning service until after the celestial event, and wrote to the papers advocating this action in all churches on the line of the eclipse. But others were more mysterious—'Melchisedec' for example—or the remarkable group of three Vegetable Sermons.

The Vegetable Sermon was an institution peculiarly characteristic of the eighteenth-century Church. It had been founded in 1729 by Mr. Fairchild of Hoxton, who bequeathed a sum of money to pay for a sermon in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, on the Tuesday in Whitsun week on 'The Wonderful Works of God in the Creation; or the Certainty of the Resurrection of the Dead, proved by certain changes in the animal and vegetable parts of the Creation.'⁵ The first sermon under these curious terms of reference was preached in 1746, and Stukeley preached at St. Leonard's in 1760, 1761, and 1763, publishing the sermons in *Palaeographia Sacra, or Discourses on Sacred Subjects* (1763), which included five

¹ Journal 1748/9 (Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 128).

² Cf. many essays now in the Keiller MSS. and in the Library of the Royal Society.

³ Journal 30 Oct. 1763 (Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 139).

⁴ Keiller MSS.

⁵ For the Vegetable Sermons, see Weld, *Hist. Roy. Soc. i*, *passim*. The sentiments implicit in their foundation suggest comparison with Harvey's *Meditations in a Garden* (1746).

other sermons among which 'Balaam Druid: A Theological Question' stands out as an even odder subject than the rest.

The volume was dedicated to the Princess Augusta under the rather unexpected appellation of Velede,¹ Archdruidess of Kew, and the dedication is signed by Chyndonax of Mount Haemus, Druid. The preface takes up the theme of the Vegetable Discourses: 'Christianity is a republication of the patriarchal religion. For which reason I have not scrupled to introduce Druids before a Christian audience. They were of the patriarchal religion of ABRAHAM, . . . and have a right to assist at a Vegetable Sermon.' Then follows a paragraph on Sunday observance, and this truly remarkable preface ends up with an appeal to all readers who have British coins in their possession to lend them to Dr. Stukeley, divine and Druid, for drawing and engraving.

The first sermon begins well enough with Solomon's Temple, but soon the Druids come in, with allusions to their temples at Avebury, Stonehenge, and Shap. The Shoreditch congregation is then given a direct reference to *Abury*, Chapter xv, and the concluding doxology runs 'as once of old in groves, so here in their representative fabrics, we adore the three sacred persons of the deity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, to whom be ascribed all honour and glory now and for ever, Amen'. Surely never was a sermon ended more strangely. In the subsequent discourses, the Druids, mistletoe, and Balaam 'who was really a Druid' are all present—whether or not they had a right, they certainly assisted at the Vegetable Sermons.

In 1760 the literary world was taken by storm by an unpretentious small octavo volume of seventy pages entitled *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* and purporting to be the remains of epics by the ancient Gaelic poet Ossian, handed down by oral tradition and gathered and translated by one James Macpherson. One need not discuss here the intriguing question of the Ossian inventions of Macpherson, so adroitly

¹ This, again, is a name taken from Tacitus (*Germ.* 8). She was a Germanic tribal leader.

presented in 'measured prose' with just the right touch of romanticism to assure enthusiastic reception in the 1760's.¹ *Fingal* appeared in 1761, *Temora* in 1763: Gray was 'extasié' though sometimes suspicious of their authenticity. But Ossian had taken hold of England and was soon to extend his influence to the Continent, where later Napoleon was to travel ever accompanied by his patchouli and snuff-scented copy of Macpherson's rhapsodies, and Bernadotte, christening his son Oscar, gave to the throne of Sweden a king with a name taken from the first-fruits of Gaelic romanticism.

The romantic in Stukeley naturally delighted in *Fingal* and *Temora*—the books had been sent him by the Bishop of St. Davids—and though 'some suspicious critics pretend to doubt of it' he had no such qualms. The descriptions of heroes, of battles, of barbaric funerals on the moors, recalled to his mind the barrows he had excavated when a young man with Lord Pembroke at Stonehenge, and he wrote a pamphlet on Cathmor's Shield, addressed to Macpherson and containing a drawing of the shield as he visualized it—even less convincing than Macpherson's poems themselves.²

He was now seventy-six years of age, but by no means lacking in spirit. Miriam seems to have been replaced by Phoebe—

That Phoebe's my friend, my delight and my pride,
I always have boasted, and seek not to hide.
I dwell on her praises, wherever I goe;
They say I'm in love, but I answer No, No.³

or Mrs. Eliza, Druidess of Caen Wood, addressed in verses less arch than those to Phoebe, with a rather pleasing opening—

¹ The whole Ossian controversy is conveniently and admirably summarized in J. S. Smart, *James Macpherson, An Episode in Literature* (1905).

² *A Letter from Dr. Stukeley to Mr. Macpherson on his publication of Fingal and Temora* (1763). ³ Poem entitled 'Druid Song' and dated Oct. 1758 (Keiller MSS.).

Grant me, ye Fates, a calm retreat
Where I may pass my days
Far from the low, mean follies of the Great
Free from the Vulgar's envious hate
And careless of their praise.¹

He had bought a cottage at Kentish Town, then a pleasant country district, in 1759, and spent much of his time laying out the garden there. He could still take a vivid interest in everything that he saw—in April 1759 he notes in his diary: 'At Kentish Town to my new house by the castle. Heard the cuckoo, saw a fine painted land newt in a bank just by its hole.'² The warm spring day is held in the phrase as bright and gleaming as the lizard, and one thinks instinctively of Gilbert White.

He moved about as vigorously as ever: early in 1765 he walked from Bloomsbury to Grosvenor Square to call on his old friend Warburton to inquire about his chances for a prebendal stall at Canterbury likely to become vacant. 'One never dies the sooner, you know, for asking preferment', he observed cheerfully, to Warburton's amusement.³ At the end of February he had been at the Kentish Town cottage, but had come in for a vestry meeting, and after this returned to the Rectory.

According to his usual custom, he lay down on his couch, where his housekeeper came and read to him; but some occasion calling her away, on her return, he with a cheerful look said 'Sally, an accident has happened since you have been absent'. 'Pray what is that, sir?' 'No less than a stroke of the palsy.' She replied 'I hope not so, sir' and began to weep—'Nay, do not trouble yourself' said he, 'but get some help to carry me upstairs, for I never shall come down again but on men's shoulders.'⁴

He was carried to his bed, where he lay in a coma for three days, and on the 3rd of March 1765, a Sunday, he died.

¹ Poem entitled 'The Druid' and dated 16 Apr. 1759 (Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 138, f. 48).

² Ibid., f. 49.

³ Warburton to Hurd, 4 Mar. 1765 (Nichols, *Illus.* ii. 59).

⁴ Memoir by Peter Collinson in *Gents. Mag.* 1765, p. 211.

VII. THE MAN AND HIS WORK

AFTER his death, Bishop Warburton was to write a character sketch of Stukeley which deftly and sympathetically portrays the man as he appeared to his friends.

'You say true' [he writes to Hurd] 'I have a tenderness in my temper which will make me miss poor Stukeley; for, not to say that he was one of my oldest acquaintance, there was in him such a mixture of simplicity, drollery, absurdity, ingenuity, superstition and antiquarianism, that he afforded me that kind of well-seasoned repast, which the French call an *Ambigu*, I suppose from a compound of things never meant to meet together. I have often heard him laughed at by fools, who had neither his sense, his knowledge, or his honesty; though it must be confessed, that in him they were all strangely travestied.'¹

Warburton's estimate is confirmed by the intimations of Stukeley's character we can recover from his letters and his published word: there is an immensely likeable quality about him, with all his foibles, and it is not surprising that when he was laid up in bed on one occasion in Queen's Square, over 120 friends and parishioners visited him or sent him messages of condolence.²

To his contemporaries, he must have appeared as a learned man, despite the fanciful ideas of his later life, and the mass of seemingly erudite theory with which he loaded his published works undoubtedly passed for the authentic expression of a scholar. His really valuable work in archaeology, as we are now able to perceive it in the perspective of two

¹ Warburton to Hurd, 4 Mar. 1765 (Nichols *Illus.* ii. 59).

² Bodl. MS. Eng. misc. e. 137, f. 80.

centuries, is, of course, his objective field-work at Avebury and Stonehenge and other sites during the years around 1718-24. But this was unappreciated by other mid-eighteenth-century antiquaries, who were in no position to distinguish this from the fanciful etymologies and the Biblical analogies with which he smothered the basic field-work in his published books. It must be admitted that he was not a good scholar: he was uncritical of his literary sources and his reading was discursive rather than profound. His value to archaeology in his own day and now lies in his capacity to observe and record facts in the open air. In historical studies of the same period he may perhaps best be compared with Hearne, whose meticulous editions of medieval texts still win the approval of modern scholars, but whose efforts as an historian were uncritical and often valueless. Stukeley's surveys, drawings, and notes of Avebury are sources which we can use with the same confidence as a chronicle edited by Hearne, but, apart from the fortunate survival of many of these in manuscript form, we have to dig out the remaining facts from the mass of absurdity which loads the pages of *Abury* and, to a lesser degree, *Stonehenge*.

The recognition of two periods in Stukeley's intellectual life, the first, to 1725, reliable and objective, and the second, from his ordination to his death, speculative and fantastic, almost enables us to assess the value of any archaeological records of his that survive on the criterion of date. It is exceedingly fortunate that Avebury engaged his attention in 1718 and not in 1728.

But let us recognize the very great importance of the work he did in the 1720's. Quite apart from its value at Avebury as a record of structures now destroyed—and Stukeley was acutely conscious of this aspect of his work—it is, with the exception of Aubrey's remarkable pioneer efforts of sixty years before, the first evidence for a branch of field archaeology which in Britain has taken on a peculiar importance. It is pure field-work and survey carried out in the open air, with a minimum of excavation. This is a technique in which

to-day British archaeology is outstanding: with this field-work goes a high standard of draughtsmanship and the visual presentation of evidence which is in direct descent from Stukeley. It is not for nothing that this study is one of the open air, and it seems to me intimately bound up with the English approach to the country-side which was developed unconsciously side-by-side with the Romantic movement in literature and the arts, and which touches also on field-work in other studies such as natural history.

Stukeley's delight in the English country-side is an endearing feature. It is not the thrill of the wild, the sublime, the mountainous and horrid that we encounter in his writing, but an almost sensuous pleasure in the mild English country-side of the Wiltshire Downs. His field-notes include such passages as this:

To take in all the beautys of Abury we must widen our imagination and think with the antients and behold the most stately strife between art and nature. Major rerum mihi nascitur ordo. The avenues are well contrived for though they run in a valley yet never along the lowest ground but with a little declivity from them to the bottom that the rain may never lodge . . . on each hand a high hill, Windmill Hill and the corner of Hackpen called Whitehill. That easternmost is highest to keep off the keen winds which are indeed sharp at this place, the air commonly very fine.¹

Or again, of Windmill Hill itself:

'Tis a pretty round apex, the turf as soft as velvet. There is the sign of a very old camp cast up on one half of it but unfinished. The air here extremely fragrant.²

and of the pleasure of walking on the downs:

The strolling for relaxed minds upon these downs is the most agreeable exercise and amusement in the world especially when you are every minute struck with some piece of wonder in antiquity. The neat turn of the huge barrows wraps you up into a contemplation of the flux of life and passage from one state to another and you meditate with

¹ Notes on back of 'Great Prospect' of Avebury (Keiller MSS. vol. of Avebury Drawings).

² Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 33.

yourself of the fate and fortune of the famous personages who thus took care of their ashes that have rested so many ages.¹

And, finally, this delightful appreciation of field-work in the Avebury district:

I have an infinite number of times remarked the fine breathings or streams sweeter than can be imagined saluting the nostrils most agreeably and recreating the spirits like taking snuff, though fatigued in walking, for it has been common with me to walk 10 mile before dinner, as much before night, and all the while upon Nature's tapistry more easy than a plane floor, being yielding to the weight of the impressed foot and rebounding again with an elasticity which saves half the labour of walking, and I have never found any sultry heats, but breezes very inconvenient for drawing as blowing the paper about and that in the calmest weather I ever found here.²

In Stukeley we find one of the first Englishmen to enjoy and to describe in pleasant prose the unexciting landscape, and we can see in him the lineal ancestor of Richard Jeffries and Hudson.

With regard to the unfortunate episodes of his later days—the Richard of Cirencester forgery, the Oriuna fatuity, the wild guesses about Carausius and the British kings—we can at least say that he was no worse than his contemporaries. Nothing comes out more strongly from a study of Stukeley's life and work than the changed intellectual temper in England after about 1730. Professor Douglas has commented on this in the realm of historical studies, and with Stukeley we can find a parallel decline in antiquarian pursuits.³ He is all too significantly a child of his age, and his own intellectual history but lives out the melancholy story of that of British learning at large.

One cannot help feeling that had he been born fifty years earlier, he might have carried on the high tradition of his early studies into later life. His Avebury and Stonehenge

¹ Keiller MSS. vol. of Avebury Drawings.

² Bodl. Gough Maps 231, f. 9.

³ Nevertheless, the change in Stukeley's outlook between about 1725 and 1730 is very sudden, and we have reason to think there was some obscure psychological disturbance, comparable to that in Sir Isaac Newton's life.

work was done in the last years of the great historical tradition surviving from the Restoration, and by 1724 there were few, if any, with whom he could share his interest in exact record and detailed draughtsmanship. There were no young men to train, as he had trained old Lord Winchelsea, in taking bearings, making plans, and sketching prospects—the interest was lacking and his own work unappreciated. It must have been this that acted as one of the contributory causes of his retirement from London to Grantham: a lone enthusiast, no one could understand his concern for the preservation of Avebury or share with him a delight in its details of planning and construction.

He moved with the times all too readily, and the easy opportunity of recognition afforded by religious controversy was too seductive to be resisted. The Deists were without difficulty made into a redoubtable foe against whom one might fight with every honour to learning and the Established Church, and his sense of the historical associations of the Church of England may have been among the causes that led him to take orders and to turn in controversy against those who wished to undermine a venerable English institution.

A puzzling character even to his friends such as Warburton, at the remove of two centuries Stukeley still remains an enigmatic, tragi-comic figure. We can to-day appreciate far better than his contemporaries the valuable work he did as a young man—work that they poked fun at or ignored—but perhaps less well than they can we understand the high esteem in which he was held on account of his published writing. It is an uncomplimentary tribute to an age of decadence in learning that they did not start laughing at the Antiquaries before they did. In an age of more vigorous and accurate scholarship criticism might have prevented Stukeley from perpetrating many of his follies, rather than encouraging him as a whimsical dilettante.

But one cannot ignore the fact that the indirect influence of his work was enormous, and with the most unexpected

results upon English imaginative literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The indebtedness of Gray, Collins, Mason, and other poets to Stukeley's ideas on Druids has long been recognized, but the debt owed by William Blake to the Stonehenge and Avebury volumes is only beginning to be appreciated. M. Denis Saurat seems to have been the first to notice the connexion between Stukeley and the Prophetic Books, especially *Jerusalem*, and Ruthven Todd has taken the matter rather farther in a recent study.¹

In the interval between Stukeley's death and Blake's poetical compositions, the Druidic theories had, of course, been adopted and developed by other writers. When the Welsh bard, Edward Williams, published his *Poems* in 1794, for instance, he could write naturally of 'The Patriarchal Religion of Ancient Britain, called Druidism', while another Welshman, Edward Davies, in his *Celtic Researches* (1804), takes it as a matter of course that the Druids had inherited a religious tradition from Adam and Noah. But these ideas really owe their origin to Stukeley, and when we find Blake, in his description of his picture 'The Ancient Britons', making the categorical statement 'Adam was a Druid, and Noah also', it is to *Stonehenge* and *Abury* that we must turn in seeking his inspiration for so striking an observation.

To anyone familiar with Stukeley's work there comes, in reading *Jerusalem*, a moment of relief at glimpsing a familiar landscape, after trudging through a wood thick with obscure mythological undergrowth, when he reaches the end of Chapter I. Here he finds the sudden invocation:

To the Jews

Jerusalem the Emanation of the Giant Albion! Can it be? Is it a Truth that the Learned have explored? Was Britain the Primitive Seat of Patriarchal Religion? If it is true, my title-page is also True, that Jerusalem was & is the Emanation of the Giant Albion. . . .

All things Begin and End in Albion's Ancient Druid Rocky Shore.

¹ Denis Saurat, *Blake and Modern Thought* (1929), especially part ii, 'Celts and Druids'; R. Todd, *Tracks in the Snow* (1946), pp. 48 et seqq.

Your Ancestors derived their origin from Abraham, Heber, Shem and Noah, who were Druids, as the Druid Temples (which are the Patriarchal Pillars & Oak Groves) over the whole Earth witness to this day.

You have a tradition, that Man anciently contain'd in his mighty limbs all things in Heaven & Earth: this you received from the Druids. . . .

This is the authentic utterance of the 'Archdruid': perhaps he would have thought it a little too enthusiastic for a Vegetable Sermon, but he would have approved of the sentiments, phrased as they are nearly as quotations from his own works.

And so throughout the great, formless rhapsody in which Blake's visionary mind has turned the ideas of the speculative mythologists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries into a wild vision of a personal apocalypse, Stukeley's Druids constantly appear and reappear in one form or another. 'The Serpent Temples thro' the Earth, from the wide Plain of Salisbury' are illustrated by a remarkable allegorical plate of which the background is formed of a 'Dracontium' based, as Ruthven Todd has seen, on Stukeley's reconstruction of the Avebury plan, but in which, instead of individual standing stones, Stonehenge trilithons are introduced. The 'Druid Patriarchal rocky Temples' stand side by side with the 'Dragon Temples,' and the Druidic wicker image used for holocausts, so well attested by classical writers and so inconvenient to supporters of the sublime Druidic Patriarchs, is turned into 'The Wicker Man of Scandinavia' and so removed into a safely barbarous sphere.

After Chapter II of *Jerusalem* comes an attack on the Deists, which again may owe something to Stukeley, and from then on the references to Stonehenge and the Druids are frequent. A specific Stukeley contact must certainly exist in the line 'They look forth from Stone-henge: from the Cove round London Stone', for 'Cove' is the peculiar word invented by Stukeley as a name for the settings of three stones such as those within the northern of the two extant inner circles at Avebury, and is otherwise meaningless.

In *Milton* again, Blake brings in his Druids, and in one line must be referring to the dimensions of Stonehenge as worked out by Stukeley with his Druid Cubit. The victims are being prepared for the sacrifice in South Molton Street and Stratford Place (with that disconcerting use Blake makes of banal London street-names side-by-side with his wildest extravagances),

... and their inmost palaces

Resounded with preparation of animals wild & tame,

(Mark well my words: Corporeal Friends are Spiritual Enemies)

Mocking Druidical Mathematical Proportion of Length, Breadth,
Hight;

Displaying Naked Beauty. . . .

Of all destinations for archaeological field-work surely this is most odd—odder even than Stukeley's own use in later life of the careful and detailed observations of his younger days when he and Lord Winchelsea tired themselves out with the delightful task of accurately measuring Stonehenge for the first time. Without Stukeley's enthusiastic championing of the patriarchal origins of the British Druids, Blake's passionate belief in a mystical Holy Land on British soil might never have taken root in his fantastic mind. As an old man, Stukeley was certain he had found Julius Caesar's camp near St. Pancras, but it was left to William Blake to discover the New Jerusalem 'Near mournful ever-weeping Paddington'.

Another curious by-way of British eccentricity that survives to-day owes its origin to Stukeley and his ideas about Druids. In 1781 a society under the name of 'The Ancient Order of Druids' was founded by a man called Hurle—probably Henry Hurle, a London carpenter and builder who died in 1795. Originally a speculative and 'secret' society, after a secession in 1833 it was transformed into the Benefit Society which still continues to exist under the original name. But the picturesque aspects of Stukeley's white-robed priests are still retained, and each returning Midsummer Eve sees ceremonies carried out at Stonehenge which, while

they certainly bear no relation to the performances of the Celtic Iron Age priesthood on the same spot, probably come near to realizing the dreams of Stukeley.¹

But Blake was only one—the greatest—of those later influenced by Stukeley's theories. On the basis of his first ideas, derived from Aubrey and Toland, that the Druids built stone circles, he had erected a fantastic fabric of theory around which even more queer romantic pavilions and turrets were piled up in the course of the second half of the century. The Druids became the philosopher-priests who championed ancient liberty against the brutal Romans; they knew the secrets of the universe and the mysteries of the heavens. They were waiting ready in the wings to make appropriate entries into the Romantic drama at any point, sometimes as more or less authentic Druids, sometimes as Bards, Scalds, or Fates. By the opening years of the nineteenth century Stonehenge, the Edda, the poems of Taliesin, the lost tribes of Israel, and the Bards of the Isle of Britain were all competing for prominence. It was a Druidic dream-world which has left an oddly tangible relic to-day in the Welsh Eisteddfod with its Gorsedd Circle, invented by Iolo Morganwg in response to romantic Welsh patriotism a century or so ago, but in the end to be derived from Stukeley, patiently measuring the circles at Avebury so that posterity might know what Tom Robinson had destroyed.

¹ Wiese and Frick, *Handbuch des Druiden Ordens* (1931), part ii; cf. *Antiquity*, v (1931), 522-3.

APPENDIX A

EXTANT MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL RELATING TO WILLIAM STUKELEY

Note. In this Appendix I have listed extant Stukeley MSS. that I have identified and seen myself (with the exception of the Phillipps MSS.). It is clear that many manuscripts known to have existed in the nineteenth century cannot now be traced, and several listed in Sotheby's Sale Catalogues in 1924 and 1931 have now vanished.

The list should be taken in conjunction with the published material in the various compilations of Gough and Nichols, as well as the Surtees Society's edition of the Stukeley papers.

I have not attempted to list every unimportant note or sketch by Stukeley occurring in isolation in other manuscripts. With these few and insignificant exceptions the list should be as complete as circumstances allow.

A. BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD

1. *The Gough Collections*

MS. Gough Gen. Top. 2. 'A Transcript of Leland's Itinerary from the Original MS by Mr. Burton the Leicestershire Antiquary: given to Wm. Stukeley by Thomas Allen esqr. Lord of Finchley June 1758.' Transcript dated 1628 with this inscription in Stukeley's hand inside cover.

Gough Gen. Top. 12. Stukeley's copy of Baxter's *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum* (1719) with marginal notes by W. S.

MS. Gough Gen. Top. 15. Volume of plans of Roman towns by W. S., dated between August 1722 and 1723, but with some additional material of c. 1740, and a transcript of the Antonine Itinerary for Britain.

MS. Gough Gen. Top. 24. Volume of plans of Roman camps to uniform scales, following which are the *Itinerarium* engraved plates of these, and one or two additional manuscript plans.

MS. Gough Gen. Top. 55. Interleaved copy of *Itinerarium Curiosum* 1725 edition with manuscript notes by W. S. Gough acquired the book in 1784 and transcribed into it another set of notes by Maurice Johnson from the copy of the *Itinerarium* in the Gentlemen's Society Library at Spalding.

- MS. Gough Misc. Ant. f. 4*, no. 49. Plan and section of a cottage by W. S.
- Gough Maps 1 A*. Volume of maps of England containing versions of Ptolemy, Peutinger, and Richard of Cirencester by W. S.; proof engraving and letter from Bertram to W. S.
- Gough Maps 2*. Includes two drawings and a plan of Cambridge by W. S., 1734/6.
- Gough Maps 3*. Four letters from Borlase and Lyttleton to W. S. on Cornish antiquities, 1749; two drawings probably by W. S., 1727.
- Gough Maps 4*. Drawing of Long Meg.
- Gough Maps 6*. Sketch-plans of ditches in Cranborne Chase.
- Gough Maps 16*. Plans and drawings by W. S. of his houses at Grantham and Stamford.
- Gough Maps 33*. Plan of Stonehenge, 1719; notes on British coins; views of Lord Hartford's house.
- Gough Maps 41^e*, f. 46^v. Plan of proposed Royal Palace in London by W. S.
- Gough Maps 41^o*. Drawings of Solomon's Temple by W. S., 1748/9.
- Gough Maps 201*. Folio volume of drawings of Roman altars and inscriptions, c. 1740-50, but incorporating earlier material, all by W. S. Probably the volume referred to by Ducarel as being in possession of Richard Fleming in 1768 (Nichols, *Illus.* iv. 512).
- Gough Maps 228*. Drawing of Crowland Abbey, 1744, and other drawings of medieval crosses by W. S.
- Gough Maps 229*. Folio scrap-book of drawings and notes on Stonehenge by W. S., 1722-4. This is a very important collection and should be taken in conjunction with the Keiller MSS. volume of Stonehenge Drawings to which it is complementary.
- Gough Maps 230*. Volume of miscellaneous drawings by W. S., including designs in 'Gothic' and other styles for garden houses, &c., c. 1730-60.
- Gough Maps 231*. Folio scrap-book of drawings and notes on Avebury by W. S., 1722-4. This is a very important collection and comparable to the Stonehenge drawings in *Gough Maps 229*. It should be taken in conjunction with the Keiller MSS. volume of Avebury Drawings.
- Gough Drawings A 2*. Drawings of Shap Abbey; New Grange (Ireland).

2. *Other Bodleian Collections*

MS. Top. gen. b. 52. Collection of drawings labelled in eighteenth-century hand 'Stukleiana, or Relics of Antiquity from the Portfolio of Dr. Stukeley'. With the exception of a self-portrait of 1726 they are all scriptural and allegorical, *c.* 1730-60.

MS. Top. gen. b. 53. Important collection of drawings by W. S. mounted in a scrap-book and ranging from 1720 to 1750 and including many of the original drawings for the *It. Cur.* plates.

MS. Top. gen. d. 13. Small quarto volume in vellum covers with title 'Drawings in a Journey with Mr. Roger Gale 1721'. Topographical drawings made during the *Iter Sabrinum*.

MS. Top. gen. d. 14. Important collection of miscellaneous and antiquarian drawings ranging from 1705 to 1754. List of these printed in Nichols, *Illus.* iv. 510-12.

MS. Top. gen. e. 61. Important collection of W. S.'s earliest drawings from 1700 to 1720, in original note-book, which also contains the *Iter Oxoniense* of May 1710.

*MS. Top. gen. e. 66.*¹ Volume containing transcript by W. S. of Bertram's Richard of Cirencester *MS. De Situ* made May 1749, and pasted into inner cover, the 'Facsimile' of the opening of the *De Situ* sent by Bertram.

MS. Top. gen. e. 67. 'Comment on Richardi Westmon: . . .' by W. S., 1749.

MS. Top. gen. e. 68. Another volume of similar comments by W. S., 1750.

MS. Top. gen. g. 1. Small square octavo in red leather binding containing Charles Bertram's 'transcript' of Richard of Cirencester, with book-plate, title-page, and notes by W. S. The 'transcript' is in Bertram's handwriting. These four items were sold at Sotheby's, 15 July 1924, lot 257.

MS. Top. eccles. d. 6. Volume of drawings of ecclesiastical antiquities by W. S., 1722-45. List of these printed in Nichols, *Illus.* iv. 507-10.

MS. Top. Devon b. 7. Contains (f. 154) letter from Beaupré Bell to W. S., 16 Oct. 1736.

MS. Top. Wilts. c. 4. Volume of drawings of sculptures, &c., at Wilton, *c.* 1724, and a drawing of W. S. by Isaac Whood, 1727.

¹ This and the next three items were formerly in the possession of H. J. Randall (*Antiquity*, vii (1933), 49-60).

- MS. Top. Wilts. e. 6.* Complementary volume of notes and catalogue to the above drawings, June 1724.
- MS. Eng. misc. c. 113.* Volume of letters to W. S., mainly 1720-50. This is one of the volumes used by Lukis in the Surtees Society's edition of the Stukeley papers. Sold at Sotheby's, 15 July 1924, lot 260.
- MS. Eng. misc. c. 114.* Another volume of similar letters, forming part of the same lot at the Sotheby sale and also used by Lukis.
- MSS. Eng. misc. e. 121-40.* These twenty volumes constitute W. S.'s 'Memoirs' or 'Diary' used by Lukis for the Surtees Society's edition. Volume I is retrospective but was written in 1749, Volume II is a minute-book of the Stamford Brazen Nose Society, but the subsequent volumes are a personal journal of W. S. from about 1738 to 1764. Sold at Sotheby's, 15 July 1924, lot 238.
- MS. Eng. misc. e. 260.* Common-place Book partly printed in SS i. 94-135.
- Arch. Num. x. 3.* Copy of *Medallic History of Carausius* interleaved and with notes by W. S. and six letters of 1757, and sold at Stukeley sale in 1766.
- MS. Ballard 17.* On f. 48 a letter from R. Gale to A. Charlett, 1719, about visit of Gale and W. S. to Stonehenge.
- MS. Rawlinson A. 275.* Letter from W. S. to Abp. Wake about his ordination, 1729 (f. 110).
- MS. Rawlinson D. 728.* Note by W. S. on Latin inscriptions by Maittaire (f. 159).
- MS. Rawlinson D. 924.* Note from W. S. to West, 1748, on medieval tiles (f. 566).
- MS. Rawlinson Letters 108.* Letter from W. S., probably to Bodley's Librarian about Alexander Cruden, 1755 (f. 223).
- MS. Rawlinson Letters 112.* Four letters from W. S. to Murray, 1726-30 (ff. 343, 344, 345, 346).
- Add. MS. A. 64.* Letter (undated) from W. S. to Bodley's Librarian, probably c. 1760 (f. 286).
- Printed Books, Shelf-mark 13.83.* Interleaved copy of Nichols's *Lit. Anec.* (Nichols's own copy): has between pp. 554 and 555 of Volume IV two drafts of letter from Dr. Ducarel to W. S. on death of Roger Gale, 1754.
- The St. Amand Catalogues.* Among Library Records are two copies

of the catalogue of the St. Amand collection in the Bodleian, made by Alexander Cruden on instructions of W. S., 1754. One has notes by W. S.

B. THE LIBRARY OF MR. ALEXANDER KEILLER, AVEBURY MANOR, WILTS.

Note. This is the second most important collection of Stukeley MSS. and comprises material bought at the Sotheby sale of 1924 and acquired later through various sources. The manuscripts are bound or in boxes, and in the absence of shelf-marks they have been listed alphabetically under their titles. There is a subject-catalogue of the whole collection with the manuscripts at Avebury.

1. ABURY, 1743. W. S.'s copy with a few unimportant notes.
2. ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, 1760. Manuscript in original binding labelled thus and containing a history of the Society of Antiquaries.
3. ANTONIUS MUSA, 1764. Manuscript paper bound with this title.
4. ASHMOLE PAPERS. Volume containing manuscripts of Astronomical notes, 1764; Origins of Zodiac, 1762; Common-place Book, 1740.
5. AVEBURY DRAWINGS. Very important volume containing drawings complementary to Bodleian Gough Maps 231.
6. Box I. Contains manuscripts, including W. S.'s Matriculation Oath, 1704; Notes on Gout Oil, c. 1730-40; Advertisement of *Abury*; various poems and newscuttings of various dates.
7. Box II. Contains manuscripts, including *The Brill*, 1758; *Lady Roisia's Cell*, 1742; *Earthquake in Islamabad*, 1762; *Praeloquium to Discourse on the Spleen*, 1723.
8. BRITANNIA ANTIQUA. Manuscript draft of a History of Cunobelin.
9. BRITISH COINS AND OTHER PAPERS. Papers on coins, 1765; *Homer's Arabian Extraction*, c. 1760.
10. BRITISH COINS I. Engravings, manuscript notes, and drawings, 1762.
11. CAESAR'S BRITISH EXPEDITION. Incomplete manuscript, c. 1750-60.
12. CARAUSIUS. Manuscript draft in original binding, 1739.
13. CHINESE LETTERS. Manuscript on Origin of Antediluvian or Chinese Writing, 1761.

14. COINS OF CARAUSIUS, and SERMONS. Original note-book containing notes on coins, *c.* 1750, and Sermons, 1762-3.
15. COYNS. Original note-book on coins, thus labelled, 1733-57.
16. EARTHQUAKES. Box containing notes on Earthquakes, *c.* 1750 onwards, and copy of W. S.'s book on Earthquakes.
17. EGYPTIAN MUMMYS. Contains essay by 'Chyndonax', 1755; another two, 1754; Oxford Journey, 1755; Poems, 1754.
18. FINGAL. Three papers on Macpherson's *Ossian*, 1761 et seq.
19. FLUTE MUSIC. Manuscript volume of flute music, 1714.
20. HISTORY OF CARAUSIUS. Engravings, drawings, and drafts of text, *c.* 1753.
21. HOMER'S ORIGIN. Manuscript of this title, *c.* 1760.
22. ITER MS., 1725. Original manuscript of the *Iter Boreale* of 1725.
23. ITINERARIUM CURIOSUM. Proof plates 1724, with list of autograph signatures of subscribers.
24. ITINERARIUM CURIOSUM. Set of engravings for book.
25. ITINERARIUM CURIOSUM. Another set of proof plates.
26. MAP OF ENGLAND. Box containing Map of England, 1708.
27. MEDALLIC HISTORY OF THE FIRST BRITISH KINGS. Manuscript of this title dated 1763.
28. MEDALLIONS. Another draft of the same, *c.* 1763.
29. MISCELLANY POEMS BY DR. STUKELEY. Manuscript not in W. S.'s hand.
30. OBITS OF ANTIQUARIES. List of Antiquaries with dates of deaths, &c., up to 1762.
31. PAPERS ON ANCIENT LETTERS I. Essay on Origins of Letters, 1732.
32. PAPERS ON ANCIENT LETTERS II. *Domus Patriarchalis*, or the Invention of Letters, 1735.
33. PAPERS ON ANCIENT LETTERS III. Notes on Hebrew alphabet.
34. PAPERS ON COINS. Contains manuscripts of Sacred Character of Ancient Money, *c.* 1735; Coins of Dunvalo Molmuze, *c.* 1750-60; Hebrew Coins, *c.* 1740.
35. PAPERS READ TO ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Manuscripts of Coin of Carausius, 1757; Saxon Burials at Chatteris, 1762; Marmor Taurinum, 1762.
36. POEMS. Box containing Poems by W. S. at various dates, but mainly after *c.* 1750.

37. RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER. Incomplete manuscript commentary on Richard of Cirencester.
38. ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN BRITAIN. Proof plates of *It. Cur.* dealing with Roman antiquities bound together by W. S.
39. ROYAL SOCIETY. Two volumes of unofficial minutes, 1740-3.
40. SCRAP BOOK. With a few prints relating to W. S., but mainly concerned with the Fleming and St. John families.
41. SHAP, 1725. Manuscript account rewritten c. 1750-60.
42. STONEHENGE. W. S.'s copy with a few notes and manuscript plan.
43. STONEHENGE DRAWINGS. Very important collection of drawings of Stonehenge, complementary to Bodleian Gough Maps 229.
44. STUKELEY FAMILY PAPERS. Box containing miscellaneous papers relating to the family.
45. STUKELEY GENEALOGY. Box containing manuscript book compiled by W. S.
46. SUNDRY PLANS AND LETTERS I. Includes plan of Chelmsford, 1751; Essay on Horseless Carriage, 1742; Letters from John Hutchins, 1763-4; Plan of Navestock, 1725; The Weddings, 1723.
47. SUNDRY PLANS AND LETTERS II. Drawings from Rowland's *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* (1723).
48. SUNDRY PLANS AND LETTERS III. As above.
49. VARIOUS MS. PAPERS I. Includes Dr. Long's Sphere, 1762; Crus, 1762; Kesteven, 1741; Waltham Cross, 1757; Hercules Heliocus, 1763; Busto st Turin, 1764; Tickencote, c. 1750; Sculpture of Mithras, 1746.
50. VARIOUS MS. PAPERS II. Includes Lotus, 1756; Table of Isis, 1761; Embalming of Mummys, 1764; Pyramid of Nimrod, 1761; Ras Sem, 1751; Roman Lamp, 1731; Medgley's Fold, 1754; Zoophytes, 1761; Poem, The Druid, 1758.
51. VARIOUS MS. PAPERS III. Includes Knave's Acre, c. 1760; Origin of Temples, 1743; Royal Society minutes, 1748.
52. VARIOUS MS. PAPERS IV. Includes Origin of Cards, 1760; Roman remains in Lincs., c. 1750; Origin of Architecture, c. 1750; Agabus, 1729; Chichester Inscription, 1740; 'Brittish Panegyres', c. 1750; Deluge, c. 1760; Divi Britanici; Ovid's Banishment, 1762; various coin papers, 1750-60.

53. VARIOUS MS. PAPERS V. Miscellaneous notes on Carausius, Cunobelin, &c., c. 1750-60.
54. VARIOUS ETCHED PLATES—STANTON DREW. Proofs of Stanton Drew plates from *It. Cur.*

C. THE LIBRARY OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM A. CRAGG, THREEKINGHAM HALL, LINCS.

The following manuscripts are now (1948) in the Library of Capt. Cragg and have been acquired from various sources, mainly since the dispersal of the St. John papers in 1924 and 1931. There are no shelf-marks and the following list is chronological.

1. Note-book on British coins made by Stukeley in 1720, with the sub-title *BRITANNIA METALLICA*. A large number of original drawings with find-spots and collections indicated where known.
2. Quarto volume labelled 'Drawings C'. It includes drawings of Vanbrugh's buildings at Greenwich and Kensington; Watling Street Gate, Old Palace of Westminster; Mr. Ashton's house in Grantham pulled down in 1728; and others of little significance. Mainly c. 1722.
3. Volume containing papers relating to the Society of Roman Knights, 1722-4 (partly published in *Lincs. Notes and Queries*, April 1909, p. 177). In the same volume, manuscript paper on The Music of the Spheres, 1 Jan. 1720.
4. Pedigree of Queen Anne from Noah, probably c. 1720.
5. *Fasti Evangelici, or the Chronology of Our Blessed Saviour's Life*. Two volumes, 1731-2.
6. Volume containing Diary, 12 Sept. 1735 to 13 Jan. 1736; Sermon, 1755; other undated sermons; map of farm at Holbeach.
7. Notes and drawings of Crowland Abbey, 1735; notes, 1732-5.
8. Volume of miscellaneous essays, 1734-5.
9. *STANFORDIA ILLUSTRATA* (two versions, the second with the sub-title *PAROCHIAL ANTIQUITYS*, Number I). In the form of a dialogue between Panagius (Warburton) and Palaephatus (Stukeley), 1736.
10. Quarto volume containing notes and drawings of Crowland Abbey, 1747; drawings of Kirkstead Abbey; plans of Stukeley's farms at Holbeach; notes on a petrified city in Africa and the sculpture of Mithras at York.
11. Allegorical drawings of the celestial constellations, c. 1746.

12. Notes on Crowland Abbey, 1750.
13. Volume containing a *Case of Conscience*, 5 Oct. 1754. Curiously worded proposal to a widow, with a frontispiece and verses, *See the Sage Druid*.
14. A Philosophy of Springs and Earthquakes . . . , 1757.
15. Drawings and notes of a journey to Holbeach, June 1757. Includes many drawings of Crowland Abbey, and also of Cambridge, Ramsey, Warbois, Bury, Thorney, and Royston.
16. Volume containing Cabinet of Patriarchal Medals, 1757; Description of Mount Sinai, 1755; Arabian Defeat of the Britons; Lotus Flower of Horus.
17. Letter to the Dean of Exeter, 1758 (on the use of brick in medieval buildings).
18. Volume containing essays on Constantine the Great, 1758; Coronation Sermon, 1761.
19. *Medallic History of the most Antient Kings of Britain*, c. 1750-60.
20. Volume containing Stukeley's horoscope, cast by Tycho Wyng; sermons of 1757 and 1762.
21. Two volumes of sermons.
22. Volume containing some manuscript sermons of Stukeley, and also correspondence between the St. John family, John Britton, and J. M. Gresley about the disposal of the manuscripts in Britton's hands in 1856-7.

D. OTHER COLLECTIONS

1. *British Museum Library*

- Add. MSS. 28542, ff. 269-72. Letters between W. S. and E. M. Da Costa, 1753-9.
- 28727, f. 89. Letter from W. S. to P. Collinson on Chatteris, Cambs., 1762.
- 32717, f. 165. Letter from W. S. to J. West on tiles from Laughton House, Essex, 1748.
- 32732, f. 431. Letter from W. S. to Duke of Newcastle asking for a prebendal stall at Rochester, 8 Aug. 1753.
- 35057, ff. 19, 20. Portraits by W. S. of J. Hill and W. Baxter, 1722.
- 35591, f. 421. Letter from W. S. to Lord Hardwicke on Lady Roisia, with a drawing of Lesnes Priory, 6 Oct. 1752.

Add. MSS. 37222, ff. 123, 125, 134, 172. Letters from W. S. to Philip Morant; 11 May 1757, on coins; 17 May 1757, on coins; 15 Aug. 1758, the Lexden Dykes; 18 Sept. 1762, on coins.

MS. Stowe 928, *ad fin.* Drawing of tomb at Belvoir, 1726.

2. *British Museum Print Room*

1. Self-portrait without wig (Thane Coll.).
 2. Portrait by W. S. of G. Vandergucht, 5 Dec. 1721.
 3. View of old London, copied from a sixteenth-century original (Crace Coll. Portfolio I, no. 11).
 4. Scheme for repairs to sinking pier of Westminster Bridge, 1749 (*ibid.*, Portfolio V, no. 93).
- (For all above, see *Cat. Drawings by British Artists*, iv (1907), 169.)

3. *British Museum Map Room: King's Coll.*

xv. 49. g. Plans of St. Alban's Abbey by W. S., 1719.

xl. 11. c. Drawing of Roman sculpture at York by W. S., 1749.

4. *Cardiff Public Libraries*

MS. 2366. The medallic history of the most ancient kings of Britain, 1761.

2367. Genealogy of the British Kings. The medallic history, 1756.

2368. Of the religion of the Druids, 1757.

2369. The explication of the table of Isis, 1761.

2370. Druids, 1756.

2371. On Druids' Coins (two volumes), 1760.

2373. Letter of the Druids, 1754.

4253. Stonehenge. The history of the temples of the ancient Celts, 1754.

5. *Chelmsford Public Library*

Five unpublished and apparently unique proof engravings:

1. 'A Perspective View of Cunobelin's Circus on Lexden Heath, from the East', dated 15 Aug. 1759.
2. 'A Perspective View of the Most Magnificent Circus of Cuno-beline, on Lexden Heath, from the South', dated Aug. 1759.
3. 'The British Amphitheatre Call'd King Coil's Kitchen on Lexden Heath', dated Aug. 1759.

4. Diagrammatic section through the Triple Rampart of the Lexden Dykes, dated 15 Aug. 1759.
5. Map of Colchester district from Layer to Pitsbury Ramparts. Not dated.

With the exception of the last drawing these are all signed by W. S. The engraver was P. Benazech.

6. *Devizes. Library of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*

A folio Common-place Book kept by W. S. from 1718 to 1721 but with additional material up to the 1740's. It contains the very important material collected before his work on Avebury, Stonehenge, and other stone circles in the 1720's, including the transcript from Aubrey's *Monumenta* as transcribed by Thomas Gale. The book was exhibited at a meeting of the Wilts. Arch. Soc. at Hungerford in 1867, and Lukis published a number of pages of notes without, however, any indication that they were almost entirely by Aubrey and not Stukeley (SS i. 136 et seqq.). It was sold at Sir William Tite's sale in 1874 and acquired by the Wilts. Arch. Soc. in 1922.

7. *Haverfield Library, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*

A volume with the shelf-mark CXII.H.5 is a collection of nineteenth-century transcripts of letters to and from Roger Gale and must be Volume I of the three volumes which were in 1882 in the possession of Henry Coore, of Scruton Hall, Yorks., and from which Lukis printed his edition for the Surtees Society.

8. *National Library of Wales*

A manuscript with shelf-mark NLW. 6991 is an incomplete draft of 'The Medallie History of the most antient Brittainish Kings', dated 1762.

9. *Library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bt., formerly at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham*

The present fate of this collection is unknown, but it contained at one time:

- 3834. Collection of Stukeley's drawings of 'Castles and Camps'.
- 16955. Stukeley's MS. of *Domus Patriarchalis*.
- 18983. Collection of Stukeley's drawings, large quarto.

10. *The Library of the Royal Society*

Letters: 3614 from W. S. to Dr. Rutty, 5 Mar. 1728.

3615 from W. S. to Dr. Rutty, 3 Apr. 1729.

3616 from W. S. to R. Gale, 5 May 1733.

Papers (references to *MS. Calendar of Letters and Papers, 1741-1806*).

I/56 Paper on Parhelia, 1741.

II/13 Paper on Stone axe, 1749; 25 *ibid.*; 65, 76, Earthquakes, 1749-50; 128, Stone axe, 1750; 138, Thea Tree, 1750; 189, Aurora Borealis, 1751; 195, Electrical Aura, 1751; 216, Brass 6-pounder, 1751; 296, 301, 309, Corals, 1752; 378, Bradney Abbey, 1752; 404, De ortu Astronomiae, 1753; 418, Figure from Hagley Park, 1753; 448, Eclipse, 1753; 498, Electricity, 1754; 502, Coin of Carausius, 1754.

III/88 Paper on Earthquakes, 1756; 145, Agitation of waters, 1756; 167, Turbinate water-wheel, 1756; 172, Earthquakes, 1756; 260, Corals, 1757; 292, Roche Abbey, 1757; 368, Mounting for telescope, 1759.

IV/69 Paper on Corals, 1761; 77, *ibid.*; Zoophytes, 1761; 109, Stone axe, 1762.

Classified Papers V. 28—Meterological observations, 1722-4.

MS. App. XXXVI—Stukeley's Memoirs of Sir Isaac Newton (1752). Published, ed. A. Hastings White, in 1936.

11. *Spalding Gentlemen's Society's Library, Spalding, Lincs.*

1. Thirty-two letters from William Stukeley to Maurice Johnson, 1714-56.

2. In a volume of 'Collections of MSS. with Epitaphs', made by John Nichols, are:

(a) Stukeley's letter to Dr. Mead, dated Grantham, 16 June 1727, with memoirs and pedigree of Sir Isaac Newton.

(b) Transcript by Stukeley of a manuscript relating the events of 1646 in Lincolnshire.

3. Five volumes of manuscript 'Memoirs of the Royal Society', transcribed by Stukeley for the Gentlemen's Society, 1749-56.

12. *The Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London*

1. *Soc. Ant. MS. 265*. A book of drawings of objects exhibited to the Society, begun by Stukeley and largely his work up to about 1725.
2. *Minute Book, Vol. I*. In Stukeley's hand (as Secretary) to 1725.
3. Four volumes labelled on spines ROMAN PRINTS, I-IV. These are volumes of drawings and proof engravings by W. S., as follows:
 - (i) Bound set of plates from *It. Cur.* with manuscript title *Prints of Roman Antiquitys in Britain* by Wm. Stukeley, 1758.
 - (ii) Further *It. Cur.* proof plates.
 - (iii) Engraved plates and original drawings (loose) with manuscript title *Caesar's Camp called the Brill at Pancras by Wm. Stukeley decr. 1758 together with other Remains of his Brittish Expeditions*.
 - (iv) Engraved plates, some unpublished and others from *It. Cur.* with manuscript title *A Collection of Prints, chiefly relating to the Druids, july, 1759*.
4. Miscellaneous papers on Roman villa at Weldon, 1739; elogium of Maurice Johnson, 1755; Waltham Cross, 1757; brick buildings, 1760.
5. Manuscript History of the Society, 1752 (MS. xi).
6. Incomplete draft of *Itinerarium Curiosum Centuria II*, dated 1760 (MS. 494 (2)).

APPENDIX B

PORTRAITS OF WILLIAM STUKELEY

1. 1721. Head and shoulders portrait by Kneller, engraved in mezzotint by John Smith in the same year. Original painting in the possession of Sir Hugh Stuclej, Bt., 1948, reproduced as frontispiece to this book; for engraving, see *B.M. Cat. Engr. Brit. Portraits*, iv (1914), 215. Mezzotint reproduced as frontispiece to Surtees Society's edition of Stukeley Papers (SS i. opp. title).
2. 1722. Pen drawing by G. Vandergucht of Stukeley asleep. Bodleian Gough Maps 231, f. 244^v.
3. 1726. Self-portrait in pen and wash. Bodleian MS. Gen. top. b. 52, f. 2.
4. 1727. Self-portrait in pen and wash. Hope Collection, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Reproduced by Haverfield, *Roman Occupation of Britain* (1924), opp. p. 76.
5. 1727. Pencil and wash portrait by Isaac Whood. Bodleian MS. Wilts. c. 4, f. 2. Reproduced in large paper edition of J. M. Gresley's *Croyland Abbey* (1856).
6. Undated, but probably c. 1726-30. Self-portrait in pen and wash. Bodleian MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 1.
7. Undated, but about 1730. Self-portrait of himself with his wife Frances, full-length, in pen and wash. Keiller MSS. *Stukeley Genealogy*. Reproduced in *Antiquity*, ix (1935), opp. p. 22.
8. Undated full-length oil painting, the resemblance in the stance of figure and in the background suggesting that it formed the original of the figure of Stukeley in No. 7. In the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London. (Bought 1829.)
9. Undated self-portrait in Thane Collection, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum. *Cat. Drawings. Brit. Artists*, iv (1907), 169.
10. Head and shoulders oil painting formerly in vestry of St. George's, Queen's Square, Bloomsbury; not traced.
11. Portrait by Walter, formerly at Madingley House, Cambridge. (Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*, i (1801), 117.) Not traced.
12. The *D.N.B.* article on Elisha Kirkall, the engraver (xi. 204),

states that he executed engravings in coloured chiaroscuro which included portraits of Sir Christopher Wren and Stukeley. The Wren portrait is included in the *B.M. Cat. Engr. Brit. Portraits*, but not that of Stukeley. The monochrome engraved portrait published as a frontispiece to *It. Cur.* ii (1776) is by Kirkall. (Note by W. S. on a proof in *Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints*, iv.)

APPENDIX C

WILLIAM STUKELEY'S PUBLISHED WORKS

1. An Account of a Roman Temple and other Antiquities near Grahams-Dike in Scotland (1720). (A set of proofs with W. S.'s notes is in the Haverfield Library, Oxford, 533. I.G. 12. Fol.)
2. Of the Spleen . . . to which is added some anatomical Observations in the Dissection of an Elephant (1723).
3. Of the Roman Amphitheatre at Dorchester (1723). (A facsimile of this was published by the Quator Coronati Lodge in 1925.)
4. *Itinerarium Curiosum*, Centuria I. (W. S.'s interleaved and annotated copy, with a transcript by Gough of Maurice Johnson's notes from his copy now in the possession of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, is in the Bodleian, Gough Gen. Top. 55.)
5. A Description of a Roman pavement found near Grantham (1728).
6. Of the Gout, in two parts . . . (1735).
7. An Account of a large Silver Plate, of Antique Basso Relievo, Roman Workmanship, found in Derbyshire, 1729 (1736).
8. *Palaeographia Sacra*, or Discourses on Monuments of antiquity that relate to Sacred History, No. 1 (1736).
9. Stonehenge, a Temple restored to the British Druids (1740). (W. S.'s copy, with manuscript annotations and a plan, is in the Keiller Library, MS. 42.)
10. A Sermon preached before the House of Commons, 30 Jan. 1741 (1742).
11. Abury, a Temple of the British Druids (1743). (W. S.'s copy, with manuscript annotations, is in the Keiller Library, MS. 1.)
12. *Palaeographia Britannica*, or Discourses on Antiquities in Britain, No. 1 (1743).
13. *Palaeographia Britannica* . . . No. 2 (1746).
14. A Philosophic Hymn on Easter-Day (1748).
15. A Philosophic Meditation, or Hymn, for Christmas 1749 (1749).
16. An Account of a Bas-Relief of Mithras found at York, explained by the Rev. Dr. Stukeley (1749).
17. Verses on the Death of the Duke of Montagu (1749).
18. The Healing of Diseases, or Character of the Messiah . . . (A sermon preached before the College of Physicians, 20 Sept. 1750) (1750).

19. The Philosophy of Earthquakes, Natural and Religious (1750). (W. S.'s interleaved and annotated copy is in the Keiller Library; MS. 16.)
20. Palaeographia Britannica . . . no. 3 (1752).
21. An Account of the Eclipse predicted by Thales (*Philosophical Transactions*, xlviii) (1754).
22. An Account of Lesnes Abbey, 12 Apr. 1753 (*Archaeologia*, i) (1755).
23. Observations on the Sanctuary at Westminster (*ibid.*) (1755).
24. The Philosophy of Earthquakes (two parts) (1755).
25. The Medallic History of Carausius (two volumes) (1757-9). (W. S.'s copy with manuscript annotations is in the Bodleian Library, Arch. Num. X, 3, 4.)
26. An Account of Richard of Cirencester . . . (1757).
27. Palaeographia Sacra . . . No. 2 (1763).
28. A Letter to Mr. Macpherson on his publication of *Fingal* and *Temora* . . . (1763).
29. Twenty-three Plates of the Coins of the Ancient British Kings (posthumous; n.d., but before 1776).
30. Itinerarium Curiosum, Centuria II (posthumous) (1776).

APPENDIX D

TOPOGRAPHICAL INDEX TO DRAWINGS AND PLANS IN THE STUKELEY MSS.

THE Surtees Society's edition of the Stukeley papers has a topographical index to each volume, but this publication was primarily concerned with written material, and not with plans and drawings. Much of Stukeley's most valuable work of observation and record is, however, in the form of drawings, and it was felt that a complementary index of original drawings or unpublished engravings should be made. This catalogue must therefore be taken in conjunction with that published in the Surtees Society's volumes, and is almost wholly a list of drawings and plans still extant and identifiable.

The following points should be noted when using this index:

- (a) Unless otherwise specified, the entries refer to drawings.
- (b) The date is given where known: if none is given the drawing is undated. Stukeley's spelling is followed throughout.
- (c) All drawings are by William Stukeley, and only those drawn on the spot or from the object itself are included. Illustrations copied from, for example, Anstis, Lhuyd, or Aubrey, are not included.
- (d) Unless otherwise specified, references are to the Bodleian Library MSS., which contain the bulk of Stukeley's topographical drawings. References to other manuscripts in collections which have no shelf-marks or catalogue numbers are given in accordance with the numbering I have adopted in listing these manuscripts in Appendix A.

ALDBOROUGH (YORKS.). Roman Mosaics from. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, ff. 44^v-51.

ALLINGTON (Lincs.). Seat of Thomas Williamson, 22 Dec. 1727. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 54.

ALMONDBURY CASTLE (GLOS.?). Drawing, c. 1720. Devizes MS., f. 93.

ARICONIUM (HEREFORD.). Roman walling at. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 25.

View (unfinished). *Ibid.*, f. 25^v.

Plan of A. and district. *Ibid.*, f. 28^v.

Plan of Roman Baths at. *Ibid.*, b. 53, f. 52.

ASERNY (YORKS.). View at A. (Sir Fra. Whichcotes), 16 July 1730. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 30.

AVEBURY (WILTS.). General view, 1723-4. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, ff. 31^v-31c.

View from south, 19 July 1723. *Ibid.*, f. 57.

- Fragment of plan. Gough Maps 229, f. 55^v.
 W. S.'s copy of *Abury*, with manuscript notes. Keiller MS. 1.
 Main collections of drawings, 1720-4. Gough Maps 231. Keiller MS. 5.
 General plan, 19 May 1719. Devizes MS. f. 41.
 Drawings, August 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, ff. 7^v-8^v.
 AVERHAM (NOTTS.). Averham Park House, 24 July 1728. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, ff. 28^v-29.
 AYLESFORD (KENT). View from Aylesford, 5 June 1725. Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iii.
 BALDERTON (NOTTS.). Notes on sculptured heads, 14 Aug. 1745. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 65^v.
 More notes dated 14 Aug. 1745. *Ibid.*, f. 68.
 More notes and sketches. *Ibid.*, f. 71.
 BARDNEY (LINCS.). Sketch plan of Bardney Abbey, c. 1710-20. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 16.
 BARHAM DOWN (KENT). View of Watling Street from Barham Down, 31 May 1725. Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iii.
 BARINGTON HOUSE (CAMBS.). View in the park of B. House, 31 Aug. 1736. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 39.
 BARKHAM (BERKS.). Drawing of British coin. Gough Maps 33 (Wilts.), f. 2^v.
 BARNWELL (NORTHANTS.). Drawing of Barnwell Abbey, 1708. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 9.
 BARROW (LINCS.). 'Alate Temple', 25 July 1724. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 10.
 BASINGSTOKE (HANTS.). Holy Ghost Chapel drawing, 15 May 1719. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 49^v.
 BATH (SOMERSET). Roman inscriptions. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 42.
 Roman baths at ('Mr. Stephens'), 1755. *Ibid.*, f. 52^v.
 Lansdown Monument, 17 July 1723. *Ibid.*, d. 14, f. 8.
 BEESTON (CHES.). View of Beeston Castle, 16 July 1727. Gough Maps 3, f. 7^v.
 BELIGHS ABBEY, MALDON, ESSEX. Coats of arms at, c. 1718. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 38^v.
 Plan of, c. 1710-20. *Ibid.*, f. 45^v.
 Two views of. *Ibid.*, ff. 46, 46^v.
 'BENNONIS'. 9 Sept. 1722. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 73.
 BEWDLEY (WORCS.). Drawing of Tickenhall, Bewdley, 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 32.
 Hermitage at Blackston Cave. *Ibid.*, f. 32^v.
 View of Hermitage, 23 Sept. 1721. *Ibid.*, f. 33.
 Prospect of Bewdley. *Ibid.*, f. 34.
 BISHOPS WOOD (?). The Iron House under B.W., 14 Sept. 1751. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 61.

- BOROUGHBRIDGE (YORKS.). Drawing of 'Devil's Arrows'. Gough Maps 35, f. 19.
- BOROUGH CASTLE (?). Plan and elevation. Devizes MS., f. 94.
- BOSTON (Lincs.). Boston Cross. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 23.
 Drawing of Boston Stump, 1708. Ibid., e. 61, f. 5^v.
 Note on Boston. Ibid., f. 89^v.
- BOUGHTON (NORTHANTS.). Garden, 5 Oct. 1706, from the house. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 36.
 The Mausoleum in the garden, 7 Sept. 1742. Ibid., f. 43^v.
 View by the Cascade, 8 Sept. 1742. Ibid., f. 44^v.
 A view in the garden, 16 Sept. 1744. Ibid., f. 45.
 View of the Mausoleum, 16 Sept. 1744. Ibid., f. 46.
 View of the Duke of Montagu's Bridge, designed by W. S., 1744. Ibid., f. 46^v.
 'A design I made for the D. of M's Bridge 1744' (gothick). Ibid., f. 47.
 Boughton House, 8 Oct. 1748. Ibid., f. 48^v.
 Design for classical bridge 'for B. Park, 17 Sept. 1744'. Ibid., f. 49.
 Plan of D. of M's Bridge. Ibid., f. 60.
- BOULFORD & LUTTERWORTH (LEICS.). Coin list of hoard found 1725 nr. B. Bridge & L. Gough Top. gen. 55, f. 106.
- BRENT BROUGHTON (NOTTS.). Mr. Warburton's house. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 35^v.
- BRIGCASTERTON (Lincs.). Sketch plan of Roman town, 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 53^v.
- BRILL (BUCKS.). Bronze palstave. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 56^v.
- BRYMPTON, nr. Newbury (BERKS.). Barrows on B. Common, 9 May 1724 (drawing). Gough Maps 231, f. 33.
- BURTON COGGLES (Lincs.). Details of heads, 27 July 1745. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 90.
- BURTON LATIMER (NORTHANTS.). Figures in choir windows. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 46^v.
- BURTON-ON-TRENT (STAFFS.). Gatehouse of Abbey, 30 Sept. 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 37^v.
 Bridge. Ibid., f. 38.
- BURY ST. EDMUNDS (SUFFOLK). Drawings, 1757. Cragg MS. 15.
- BUXTON (DERBY.). Drawing of Buxton Bath, July 1712. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 14.
 St. Anne's Well. Drawing, c. 1710-20. Ibid., f. 21.
- BYTHAM (?). Choir of Church, 3 Dec. 1734. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 49^v.
- CAMBRIDGE. Drawing of St. Sepulchre's Church, c. 1710-20. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 8^v.
 Pythagoras School, 26 Sept. 1736. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 30^v-31.
 Section of King's Chapel (memoriter July 1734). MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 63.
 Plan of Cambridge dated 17 Apr. 1704. Ibid., d. 14, f. 2.

- Notes on Hobson's Conduit, 20 Aug. 1722. *Ibid.*, f. 5.
 Drawing of Conduit, 21 Aug. 1722. *Ibid.*, f. 5^v.
 Porta Humilitatis of Caius, 23 Aug. 1722. *Ibid.*, f. 5^v.
 View to Hall of Clare Coll. & King's Coll., 8 Aug. 1754. *Ibid.*, f. 58.
 Map of Cambridge region. Gough Maps 2, f. 4^v.
 Sections of King's Chapel memoriter, 1734. *Ibid.*, f. 40^v.
 Drawings 1757. Cragg MS. 15.
 Map of Cambridge region, c. 1730. Gough Maps 2, f. 4^v.
 Drawings of King's Coll. Chapel, 1734. *Ibid.*, f. 40^v.
 Drawings of School of Pythagoras, 1736. *Ibid.*, f. 54.
CANTERBURY (KENT). Roman gateway, 6 Oct. 1722. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 44.
 St. Martin's. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 4.
 St. Gregory's. *Ibid.*, f. 5.
 Views of Worth Gate and Snaregate, 6-8 Oct. 1722. Soc. Ant. Lond.
 Roman Prints, iii.
CARDIKE (CAMBS.). 3 Maps of the C. through the Fens. Gough Top. gen.
 55, p. 7.
 Notes on the C. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
 Map of, 1757. Gough Maps 230, f. 418.
CASTOR (NORTHANTS.). Inscription over S. chancel door, Castor church, copied
 c. 1710-20. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 21.
 Spring at, 26 July 1726. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 43^v.
 Shrine in church, 10 Sept. 1737. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 14.
 Paintings on coffer in church, 1739. *Ibid.*, f. 47.
 'The house my ancestors lived in', 1737. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 40^v.
CERNE ABBAS (DORSET). Paper on Cerne Giant. Keiller MS. 49.
CHARING (KENT). View of Charing, 14 Oct. 1724. Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman
 Prints, iii.
CHATSWORTH (DERBY.). The cascade at C., 26 July 1725. MS. Top. gen.
 d. 14, f. 18.
CHATTERIS (CAMBS.). Notes on Saxon burials at Chatteris, 1762. Keiller
 MS. 35.
CHELMSFORD (ESSEX). Kitchen at Chelmsford Priory, drawing, c. 1710-20.
 MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 40.
 Plan, 1751. Keiller MS. 46.
CHERTSEY (SURREY). Abraham Cowley's house, 16 Oct. 1752. MS. Top. gen.
 d. 14, f. 42^v.
CHESTER (CHES.). Roman gateway, 2 Aug. 1725. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 44.
CHESTERTON (NORTHANTS.). Castor Church by C., 13 July 1724. MS. Top.
 gen. d. 14, f. 56.
CHICHESTER (SUSSEX). Cross, 15 Sept. 1723. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 10^v.
 Roman inscription found Feb. 1722/3. Devizes MS. f. 95.
 Notes on Noviomagus, 6 Oct. 1724. Gough Maps 229, f. 38.

- CHIFTON (NOTTS.). Monuments in church. Drawings, 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 37^v.
- CIRENCESTER (GLOS.). Sculptured head and inscription (*C.I.L.*, vii. 71), 23 Aug. 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 14.
 Gatehouse. *Ibid.*, f. 15^v.
 Plan of CORINIUM. *Ibid.*, f. 15^v.
- CLAREMONT (?). Prospect, 20 Sept. 1722. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 7^v.
- CLARENDON (WILTS.). View of Clarendon Palace, 3 Aug. 1723. Gough Maps 33 (Wilts.), f. 28.
- CLIFFE (DERBY.). Monument in Cliffe Ch., 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 38^v.
- COGGESHALL (ESSEX.). Knights Tomb. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 58^v.
- COLCHESTER (ESSEX.). Plan of town, c. 1710-20. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 40^v.
 Plan of Castle. *Ibid.*, f. 41.
 S.E. prospect of Castle. *Ibid.*, f. 41^v.
 St. Botolph's Ch. Drawing. *Ibid.*, f. 42.
 Interior of Castle. *Ibid.*, f. 42^v.
 St. Magdalene's Ch. *Ibid.*, f. 43.
 Black Friars Monastery, plan. *Ibid.*, f. 43^v.
 View of Black Friars. *Ibid.*, f. 44.
 St. John's Monastery gateway. *Ibid.*, f. 44^v.
 Another view of above. *Ibid.*, f. 45.
 Five engraved views of the Lexden Dykes. Chelmsford Public Library.
 Plan of Colchester, 1718. Devizes MS., f. 8.
- COLSTERWORTH (LINCS.). Drawing of Colsterworth Ch., 13 Oct. 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 51^v.
 Isaac Newton's house. *Ibid.*, f. 53.
- COSSINGTON (NOTTS.). 'Long Barrow' (8 Sept. 1722). MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 14^v.
- COTHERSTOCK (NORTHANTS.). Roman Mosaics from (1736). MS. Top. gen. b. 53, ff. 44^v-51.
- COTTENHAM (CAMBS.). Thurkil's Manor, 23 Aug. 1731. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 20.
 Cotenham, 19 May 1731. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 30^v.
- COVENTRY (WARWICK.). Drawings of Coventry Cross, 1710. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, ff. 11^v, 12.
 Sketches of windows and monuments. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 17^v.
 West Front, St. Michael's, 11 July 1725. *Ibid.*, f. 81.
- CRAMOND (MIDLOTHIAN). Roman Altar. Devizes MS., f. 61^v.
- CRANBORNE CHASE (DORSET). Sketch-plans of Bokerly Dyke, &c. Gough Maps 6.
- CROYLAND (LINCS.). Guthlac's Cross. Drawing, c. 1705, and three other drawings. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 4.

- W. Front of Croyland, 19 June 1708. Drawing. Ibid., f. 5.
De Croylandia Memorabilia, June 1708. Ibid., ff. 90-91^v.
 Drawing of Crowland Abbey, 1744. Gough Maps 228.
 Bridge, 14 July 1724. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 12^v.
 Notes and drawings of Crowland Abbey, 1732-5. Ibid. 1747. Cragg MS. 7. Ibid. 1750. Cragg MS. 10, MS. 12. Drawings, 1757. Cragg MS. 15.
 CUNETIO (WILTS.) Drawing of stones in lane between Cunetio and Verlucio. Gough Maps 231, f. 249.
 DALE (DERBY.) Inner view of Hermitage, Dale, c. 1710-20. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 8^v.
 Hermitage and Ruins, Dale Abbey. Drawing, 1710. Ibid., f. 13.
 DANEBURY (HANTS). Plan and profile of Danebury Camp, Stockbridge. Devizes MS., f. 43.
 DARLEIGH (DERBY.). Two drawings of Darleigh Abbey, 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 38^v.
 DEAL (KENT). View of Deal, Walmer Castle, &c., 7 Oct. 1722; 29 May 1726. Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iii.
 DEAN, FOREST OF (GLOS.). Druid house in the F. of D. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 72; MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 17.
 DENTON FIELDS (? NORTHANTS.). Roman Mosaics from 1727/8. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, ff. 44^v-51.
 DEPTFORD (KENT). Sketch of Church. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 79.
 DERBY. Prospect of Derby, 1 Oct. 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 39^v.
 DEVIZES (WILTS.). Church. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 19^v.
 DORCHESTER (OXON.). View of Dyke Hills. Sept. 1736. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 20.
 Glass at. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 9^v.
 Doorway at, 2 Sept. 1736. Ibid., f. 10.
 Lead font, 2 Sept. 1736. Ibid., f. 11.
 St. Berinus glass. Ibid., f. 59.
 View of Dyke Hills, 21 May 1755 (unpub. engraving). Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iv. 76.
 DOVER (KENT). Two views, 7 Oct. 1722. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 31^v.
 Notes on Dover Castle. Gough Maps 229, f. 38.
 DRIFFIELD, GREAT (YORKS.) Great D. Church (section). MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 40^v.
 DRIFFIELD, LITTLE (YORKS.). View, 2 July 1740. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 39^v.
 Sculptured heads in the Church, 2 July 1740. Ibid., f. 40.
 DUNSTABLE (BEDS.). Church, 11 Sept. 1722. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 32.
 Tothill Castle by D., 4 July 1725. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 16^v.
 DURHAM. Prior's Kitchen, 12 Sept. 1725. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 58.
 Plan of roof of Prior's Kitchen. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 88.

- EASTWELL (KENT). View towards Eastwell from near Wye, 28 May 1726.
Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iii.
- EDMONTON (MIDDLESEX). Mr. Stephens's house (the histriographer), 17 Nov. 1724. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 16.
- ELM, nr. FROME (SOMERSET). View of Camp. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 17.
- ELTHAM (KENT). Palace, 17 Oct. 1724. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 15^v.
- ELTON. Woodcroft Castle, 6 Nov. 1734. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 25.
- ELY (CAMBS.). St. Audrey's Shrine, 27 Sept. 1736. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, ff. 21^v-30.
Bishop's Palace, 23 July 1741. Ibid., f. 37^v.
Wingford Church, 24 July 1741. Ibid., f. 38.
Sculpture at, 22 July 1741. Ibid., f. 38^v.
Two medieval paintings. Ibid., f. 47^v.
St. Wilfrid Sculpture, 1736. Ibid., f. 55.
- ESSENDON (LINCS.). Door and tympanum. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 57.
- ETON (BUCKS.). Interior of College chapel, 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 4^v.
- EXTON (RUTLAND). View of Ld. Gainsboro's cascade in E. Park, 26 June 1744. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 44.
- FENCOTE (?). Tom Trams house, 24 June 1740. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 71.
- FENS (LINCS. & CAMBS.). Map dated 1712. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 3.
'No less than 8 canoes were found in draining Marlin Meer . . . a moss deer's skeleton found 14 ft. underground in the Fens by the R. Witham, Lincs. . . ' Gough Top. gen. 55, f. 14.
- FERRIBY, SOUTH (LINCS.). Sluice, 24 July 1724. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 13.
- FOKINGHAM (LINCS.). Castle, 15 July 1735. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 32^v.
- FROXFIELD (WILTS.). La Tene III brooch. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 41^v.
- GEDDINGTON (NORTHANTS.). Drawing of Geddington Cross, 1710. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 11.
- GLASTONBURY (SOMERSET). Prospect of. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, ff. 66, 67.
View of, 17 Aug. 1723. Ibid., ff. 69-70.
Sketches. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 36^v.
Tor & Kitchen, 16 Aug. 1723. Ibid., f. 37.
Ruins of, 17 Aug. 1723. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 9.
- GLOUCESTER. Drawing of cloisters, 24 Aug. 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 15.
Two drawings of Black Fryers Abbey. Ibid., f. 16.
Drawing of White Friars. Ibid., 16^v.
Gatehouse of White Friars. Ibid., 17.
Drawing of Robin Hood's Hill. Ibid., 17^v.
- GODMUNDHAM (YORKS.). Doorway & font, 1 July 1740. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, ff. 41^v-42.
- GRAFTON (WILTS.). Drawing of medieval glass. Devizes MS., f. 104.
- GRANTHAM (LINCS.). Various drawings, 12 Oct. 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, ff. 49-51.

- The Hermitage Vineyard, 7 June 1727. Gough Maps 230, f. 412.
 Medieval inscription in Grantham Ch. copied, c. 1710-20. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 21.
 Drawings of heraldic shields in church, c. 1710-20. Ibid., ff. 55, 66.
 'An Orangery', W. S. inven., 19 Dec. 1728, designed for 'my garden at Grantham'. Ibid., d. 14, f. 76.
 Views of rooms and gardens in W. S.'s house at Grantham, 1729. Gough Maps 16, ff. 37^v, 38, 38^v.
 Drawing of Mr. Aston's house, pulled down 1728. Cragg MS. 2.
 GREAT CHESTERFORD (ESSEX). Plan of Roman town. Devizes MS., f. 48.
 GREENFIELD COMMON (MIDDLESEX). Plan of earthworks, 6 June 1756. Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iii; Gough Top. gen. MSS. 24, f. 12.
 GREENWICH (KENT). Vanbrugh's Castle, 18 Aug. 1722. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 55; Cragg MS. 2.
 Northeast view of Greenwich, 1718. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 21^v.
 GRETTFORD (?). Note on sculptured heads from, 28 May 1745. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 65^v.
 Church. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 56.
 GRIMSTHORP (LINCS.). Grimsthorpe Gardens, 26 July 1736 (plan). MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 36^v.
 A view from Grim's Walk in G. Gardens, 27 July 1736. Ibid., f. 37.
 The pasture at G., 28 July 1736. Ibid., f. 37^v.
 The Duchess's Bastion in G. Gardens, 10 Aug. 1736. Ibid., f. 38^v.
 GUYS CLIFFE (WARWICK.). Chapel & Hermitage, 7 July 1725. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 18.
 HADDENHAM (CAMBS.). Medieval inscription, 27 Sept. 1736. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 21.
 Medieval inscription, c. 1705. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 4.
 HARLAXTON (LINCS.). Drawings of heraldic shields in church. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, ff. 55, 66.
 HEREFORD. Thomas de Cantelupe tomb in Cathedral. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, ff. 11^v, 26.
 Sir Richard Pembrygge tomb. Ibid., f. 14^v.
 Effigy in Library. Ibid., f. 20.
 Brasses and monument. Ibid., 21^v.
 Prospect of town, 7 Sept. 1721. Ibid., f. 22.
 Drawings of Black Friars. Ibid., ff. 22^v, 23.
 View inside walls. Ibid., 23^v.
 Drawing of two crosses. Ibid., f. 24.
 Chapter House. Ibid., f. 24^v.
 Effigies in Cathedral. Ibid., f. 25.
 St. Ethelbert's Hall. Ibid., f. 26.
 St. Magdalen's Church, interior. Ibid., f. 26^v.

HEREFORD—*continued*.

St. Magdalen's Church, West front. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 27.

St. Catherine's Chapel. Ibid., f. 27^v.

Ground plan of above. Ibid., f. 28.

Drawing of Sir Richard Penbrugg's tomb, 1722. Devizes MS., f. 106.

HOLBEACH (Lincs.). 'My father's house at Holbeach.' Drawing, 1700. MS.

Top. gen. e. 61, f. 3.

Another, 1721. Ibid. d. 13, ff. 60, 62.

Holbeach Church. Drawing, c. 1710-20. Ibid. e. 61, f. 7^v.

Holbeach Cross. Drawing, c. 1710-20. Ibid., f. 8.

Drawings of heraldic shields in Ch., c. 1710-20. Ibid., ff. 55, 66.

Church, 26 Aug. 1722. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 32^v.

Holbeach Journey (many illus.), June 1757. Cragg MS. 4.

'Ground plot of my father's dwelling 1703.' MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 1^v.

Glass in H. Church. Ibid., f. 57.

Maps of farms at Holbeach. Cragg MS. 6; 10.

Notes on a journey to Holbeach. Cragg MS. 15.

HOLNBY (NORTHANTS.). Drawing of Holnby House, 25 Apr. 1709. MS.

Top. gen. e. 61, f. 6.

HOUGH (CHES.). Cascade and Gardens at Hough, the seat of Edward Payne, Esqr., 9 Nov. 1728. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 29^v.

HOUGHTON (HUNTS.). View of garden front of Sir Robt. Walpole's seat, 23 July 1740. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 41^v.

HOUNSLOW HEATH (MIDDLESEX.). Plan of earthworks ('Caesar's Camp'), 22 June 1725. Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iii; Gough Top. gen. f. 13.

HUNNINGTON (Lincs.). Plan of 'Roman Camp' at Hunnington, Ancaster, Lincs. Devizes MS., f. 49.

HUNSTANTON (NORFOLK.). St. Edmund's Chapel. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 58.

IMPINGTON (CAMBS.). Ground plan of house labelled 'Impington. 8 Aug. 1744'. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 57^v.

KENDAL (WESTMORLAND). Prospect of Church & Castle from Kirkbarrow Hill, 14 Aug. 1725. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 20.

KENTISH TOWN (LONDON). The Hermitage Garden, Aug. 1760. Gough Maps 230, f. 350.

Two views of S.'s house, 28 Apr. 1759. Ibid., ff. 351-2.

Design of chimney-piece in S.'s bedchamber, Aug. 1760. Ibid., f. 353.

View of Kirst Coeth from parlor at K.T., 2 July 1759. Ibid., f. 354.

Drawings of W. S.'s house, 1759-60. Gough Maps 230, ff. 351-3.

KESTEVEN (Lincs.). Paper on, 1741. Keiller MS. 49.

KIDDERMINSTER (WORCS.). Monuments in church, 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 34.

Entrance to Kidderminster. Ibid., f. 34^v.

- KINGSBURY (MIDDLESEX). Plan of earthworks, 20 Aug. 1750. View, Sept. 1757. Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iii; Gough Gen. Top. MSS. 24, f. 14.
- KIRKLEYS ABBEY (NOTTS.). View of. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 79^v.
- KIRKSTEAD (Lincs.). Kirkstead Abbey. Drawing and plan, c. 1710-20. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, ff. 18, 18^v.
Drawings, c. 1740-50. Cragg MS. 10.
- KIRKTON (Lincs.). Drawing of Kirkton Church, 1708. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 6^v.
Note on Kirkton, *Ibid.*, f. 88^v.
- KITS COTY HOUSE (KENT). Prospect of, 15 Oct. 1722. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 19^v.
- LANGLEY (KENT). Drawings of heraldic shields in church, c. 1710-20. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, ff. 55, 66.
- LEICESTER. Roman mosaics from, 1754. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, ff. 44^v-51.
Episc. Church. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 20^v.
Bowbridge at, 8 Sept. 1722. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 7.
- LEOMINSTER (HEREFORDSHIRE). Priory at Leominster, 14 Sept. 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 29.
Church. *Ibid.*, f. 29^v.
- LESNES (KENT). Priory. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, ff. 51^v, 52.
- LICHFIELD (STAFFS.). Drawing of W. front, 30 Sept. 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 37.
Front of Cathedral. *Ibid.*, b. 53, f. 77^v.
Part of St. Chad's Shrine. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 10^v.
St. Chad's Well. *Ibid.*, f. 11^v.
St. Chad's Cell. *Ibid.*, f. 12.
Ibid., plan. *Ibid.*, f. 12^v.
Prospect of St. Chad's, 6 Oct. 1736. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 13.
Figure of St. Chad (same date). *Ibid.*, f. 13^v.
- LINCOLN. Medieval inscriptions at, c. 1710-20. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 3^v.
Roman hypocaust, 1740. *Ibid.* b. 53, f. 51^v.
Shrines. *Ibid.*, f. 59.
(Roman) Plan of, 4 Sept. 1722. MS. Gough Gen. Top. MSS. 15, f. 59.
St. Paul's, 16 July 1735. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 7.
Roman road on Lincoln Heath, 2 July 1729. *Ibid.* f. 33.
Building near John of Gaunt's Palace, July 26, 1724. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 13^v.
St. Hugh's Shrine, 17 July 1735. *Ibid.*, f. 57.
- LINCOLNSHIRE. Notes on Roman remains in Lincs. Keiller MS. 52.
Pardoxa quaedam nostrae Hollandiae indigenae, c. 1710-20. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 88.
Various notes, c. 1710-20. *Ibid.*, f. 87.

LINCOLNSHIRE—*continued*.

Notes on Lincs. barrows, *c.* 1710–20. *Ibid.*, ff. 86–86^v.

The Tower of the Moor. Drawing, *c.* 1710–20. *Ibid.*, f. 17.

LITTLE CHESTER (DERBY.). Plan of DERVENTIO, 31 Sept. 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 39.

LONDON. Drawings of Roman Wall at Moorgate, &c. Devizes MS., ff. 89–91.

Map (reconstructed) of Roman London. *Ibid.*, f. 40.

The Cupola, 1706 (almost certainly St. Paul's). MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 1.

View of the London Bridge with the Monument. *Ibid.*, f. 4^v.

'Very old Church by Westminster Abbey.' MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 4^v.

Rough sketch of medieval walls of L. Gough Maps 229, f. 88.

Drawing of building by Vanbrugh at Kensington. Cragg MS. 2.

Watling Street Gate. *Ibid.*

Old Palace of Westminster. *Ibid.*

Alate Temple, 15 July 1756. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 17^v.

St. John's Hospital Gate, 13 Feb. 1723/4. *Ibid.*, f. 84^v.

St. Audry (Glass) at Ely House, 14 Apr. 1757. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 85.

St. Sepulchre's. Aaron's Breastplate, &c. *Ibid.*, ff. 91–5.

Drawing of Mace & Bell, &c. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 91^v.

LONDON: ST. PANCRAS. The Brill. Plan of Roman Camp. Gough Gen. Top.

MS. 24, f. 16. Detailed Plan. *Ibid.*, ff. 20–1. Notes. Keiller MS. 7.

LONDON: WESTMINSTER BRIDGE. Design for a relieving arch, 30 Aug. 1750.

MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 90.

LONG MEG (CUMB.) Drawing of stone circle. Gough Maps 4.

Drawing of stone circle (16 Aug. 1725). MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 13^v.

LOUTH (Lincs.) Drawing of Louth Steeple, *c.* 1710. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 12^v.

LUDLOW (SHROPSHIRE). Prospects of Ludlow, 16 Sept. 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, ff. 30, 30^v.

Plan of Castle. *Ibid.*, f. 31.

Interior of Castle. *Ibid.*, f. 31^v.

LUTON (BEDS.). Drawing of tomb of Lord Wenlock. Devizes MS., f. 102.

LYNN (NORFOLK). Drawing of Customs House. 30 Aug. 1711. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 15^v.

MACCLESFIELD (CHES.). View, 5 July 1727. Gough Maps 3, f. 10.

MALDON (ESSEX). All Saints Church. Drawing, *c.* 1710–20. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 47.

'A Stepyl house atte Maldon.' Drawing, *c.* 1710–20. *Ibid.*, f. 47^v.

MALVERN (WORCS.). Drawing of Gatehouse of Abbey, 2 Sept. 1721: MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 19^v. Effigy in Choir: *ibid.*, f. 19^v.

Heraldic tiles. *Ibid.*, f. 20.

View of church. *Ibid.*, f. 20^v.

- MANCHESTER (LANCS.). St. Anne's Church. Drawing, c. 1710-20. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 16^v.
- MARGATE (KENT). Drawing of bronze palstave hoard. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 32^v.
- MARLBOROUGH (WILTS.). Marlborough Mound, 15 Aug. 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 7.
View of Lord Hertford's house, 29 June 1723. Gough Maps 33 (Wilts.), f. 9^v.
- MAYBOROUGH (CUMB.). View, 15 Aug. 1725. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 15^v.
- MEDGELEY'S FOLD (SHROPSHIRE). Paper on stone circle, 1754. Keiller MS. 50; MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 14.
- MEDLEY (YORKS.). Drawing of medieval tomb. Devizes MS., f. 99.
- NAVESOCK (ESSEX). 'Alate Temple', n.d.: MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 16^v.
Unpub. engraving: Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iv. 35; Plan, 1725: Keiller MS. 46.
- NEWARK (NOTTS.). Prospect of Newark, 10 Oct. 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 47.
Painting on tomb in ch. Ibid., f. 47^v.
A view, 7 Sept. 1722. Ibid. d. 14, f. 6^v.
- NOCTON PRIORY (LINCS.). Remains, 31 Aug. 1727. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 27^v.
- NORTHAMPTON. Queen's Cross, N. Drawing, 1707. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 4.
St. Sepulchre's Ch. Drawing, c. 1710. Ibid., f. 14.
All Saints Ch. Drawing, 1711. Ibid., f. 14^v.
Assize House. Drawing, c. 1710. Ibid., f. 15.
St. Sepulchre's (interior), 8 May 1733. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 16^v.
Holy Sepulchre. Ibid., f. 19.
- NORWICH. West side of Norwich Castle, 31 May 1734. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 80.
Doorway in St. Lawrence. Ibid., f. 81^v.
Spandrel at St. Lawrence. Ibid., f. 84^v.
Glass in north aisle. Devizes MS., f. 99.
- NOTTINGHAM. Drawing of Castle, 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, ff. 40, 41.
Grey Friars. Ibid., f. 40^v.
Prospect of N. Ibid., ff. 41^v, 45^v (unfinished).
Caves in Nottingham Park. Ibid., ff. 44, 45.
'Visto of Nottingham from Clifton House', Ibid., f. 46.
- OSBURY (WILTS.). 'Aukbury Camp from King's Barrow.' 17 June 1724.
Gough Maps 229, f. 173.
- OLD SARUM (WILTS.). Plan and profile of Old Sarum. Devizes MS., f. 42.
Fragt. sketch of O.S. (plan and view), 1 Aug. 1722. Gough Maps 229, f. 56.
- OUNDE (NORTHANTS.). St. Wilfrid's Monastery, 26 Aug. 1735. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 14^v.

OUNDLÉ (NORTHANTS.)—*continued.*

Another view. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 15.

Two other views. Ibid., ff. 15^v, 16.

St. Wilfrid's Monastery, plan and detail. Ibid., f. 54.

OXBORROW (NORFOLK). Notes of sculptured medieval heads, 10 Sept. 1745.

MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 65^v.

OXFORD. Journey to Oxford, 1755. Keiller MS. 17.

Antiquity Hall near Raleigh Abbey, 8 Sept. 1724. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 14.

PENRITH (CUMB.). Arthur's Round Table, 15 Aug. 1725. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 16.

PETERBOROUGH (NORTHANTS.). Saxon gabled tombstone. Drawing, c. 1710—20. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 10.

Drawing of Cathedral, 1721. Ibid. d. 13, f. 56.

Chapel of St. Thomas à Becket in Minster Yard, 8 June 1748. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 49.

PINNER COMMON (MIDDLESEX). Plan of earthworks, 22 Sept. 1722. Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iii.

PORTSMOUTH (HANTS). View, 11 Sept. 1723. MS. Top. Gen. d. 14, f. 11.

RAMSEY ABBEY (Lincs.). Gatehouse. Drawing, 8 July 1719. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 50.

Effigy at. Drawing, 1719. Ibid., f. 51.

Drawing of figure from R. Ibid., b. 53, f. 65.

Drawings, 1757. Cragg MS. 15.

READING (BERKS.). Reading Abbey. Drawings, 14 Aug. 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, ff. 5, 5^v.

Abbey Gatehouse. Ibid., f. 6.

Chapel in Abbey. Ibid., f. 6^v.

Plan. Ibid., f. 7.

Pines, gold ring & disk from peat at R. Gough. Top. gen. 55, p. 59.

RICHBOROUGH (KENT). Views of amphitheatre, 7 Oct. 1722; 27 May 1725. Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iii.

RICKMANSWORTH (HERTS.). Plans, 10 Nov. 1723; 2 April 1726. Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iii.

RIPON (YORKS.). Market Place, 14 Sept. 1725. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 50.

ROBIN HOOD'S WELL & GRAVE (NOTTS.). Well, 20 Sept. 1725. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 21.

ROCHESTER (KENT). Notes on R. Gough Maps 229, f. 38.

ROLLRIGHT (OXON.). Drawing of Rollright Stones, 1710. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 9^v.

Drawing of view north from R. Stones. Gough Maps. 231, f. 330.

Drawing of the Whispering Knights. Ibid., f. 331.

View of Rollright Stones. Devizes MS., f. 47.

- View from South (unpub. engraving). Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iv. 42.
- ROMAN WALL (NORTHUMB.—CUMB.). Plans, &c., dealing with the R. W. by W. S. with transcript of part of the Antonine Itinerary. Gough Maps 201, ff. 280 et seqq.
- ROMSEY (HANTS). Church, 14 June 1724. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 9.
- ROYSTON (HERTS.). MS. on Lady Roisia's Cell. Keiller MS. 7.
 Drawing of 'British Gymnasium' (earthworks). Gough Maps 11.
 Unpub. engravings, 21 May 1741. Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iv. 84, 85.
 Drawing, 1757. Cragg MS. 15.
 Figure in Church. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 81^v.
 Notes on Lady Roisia's headdress. Ibid., f. 68.
 Ditto, head at R. drawn 4 Oct. 1745. Ibid., f. 68.
 Drawing of Roisia's Mausoleum, 19 Oct. 1742. Ibid., f. 82.
 More drawings of R.'s M. same date. Ibid., ff. 82^v–84.
- RYHALE (LINCS.). St. Tibba's Cell. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 53.
 Ditto, 22 June 1736. Ibid., f. 53^v.
 Window of St. Tibba's Chapel, 22 June 1736. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 34.
 Cellar at R. Ibid., f. 34^v.
 Part of R. Manor. Ibid., f. 35.
- SACOMBE (HERTS.). Hermit Cell at. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 23^v.
- ST. ALBANS (HERTS.). Sketch plan of ch. and cloisters, c. 1710–20. MS. Top. gen. c. 61, f. 22.
 Brasses copied, c. 1710–20. Ibid., ff. 22^v, 23, 23^v, 24, 25^v, 26, 29, 29^v.
 Abbot Ramryge's tomb. Drawing, c. 1710–20. Ibid., f. 24^v.
 Abbot Wheathampstead's tomb. Drawing, c. 1710–20. Ibid., f. 25.
 Gatehouse, (2 views c. 1710–20). Ibid., f. 26^v.
 Roman pavement; note on, c. 1710–20. Ibid., f. 27^v.
 Antiquities from Verulam. Drawings, c. 1710–20. Ibid., f. 28.
 Details of font and doorway, c. 1710–20. Ibid., f. 28^v.
 Shrine of St. Alban. Drawing, c. 1710–20. Ibid., f. 30^v.
 Two drawings of St. Alban's Abbey. Ibid. b. 53, f. 57^v.
 Shrines: Abbot Wheathampstead's Tomb. Ibid., f. 59.
 Abbot de la Mare (Brass). Ibid., f. 62^v.
 Brass of Abbot Frederick. Ibid., f. 65.
 Back of High Altar. Ibid., f. 71^v.
 Front of High Altar, 28 Dec. 1720. Ibid., f. 72.
 Abbot Ramrygges tomb. Ibid., f. 72^v.
 St. Alban's Shrine. Ibid., f. 73.
 Three views of St. Alban's Gateway. Ibid., f. 74.
 Duke Humphrey's Tomb. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 34.
 Gatehouse, 1717. Ibid., f. 34^v.

ST. ALBANS (HERTS.)—*continued*.

Brasses at. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 35.

Ditto. Ibid., f. 36.

'Ornament of gold dug up near "Old Verolam" in Oct. 1748.' (Rough sketch of twisted bracelet.) Gough Maps 201, f. 279.

Plans of St. Albans 1717 and 1720. Devizes MS. f. 7, f. 86.

ST. ALBANS (?) Vault of Duke of Gloucester, ob. 1446. Drawing, c. 1710-20.

MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 31.

ST. OSYTH (ESSEX). East prospect of St. O's Abbey, 1718. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 36^v.

Sketch plan of Abbey, c. 1718. Ibid., f. 37.

Drawing of gateway. Ibid., ff. 35^v, 36.

South prospect. Ibid., ff. 37^v, 38.

Coat of Arms at. Ibid., f. 38^v.

SALISBURY (WILTS.). Poultry Cross. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 87.

View from Harnham Hill, 26 Aug. 1723. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 9^v.

SALKELD, LITTLE (CUMB.). Stone circle; no date, but probably 1720-30.

MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 15.

SANDWICH (KENT). Great numbers of large barrows about S. (Winsborough & Marvil Hd. mentioned). Gough Top. gen. 55, p. 118.

View of 'Staner' (Rutupium) from Sandwich, 27 May 1725. Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iii.

SCRUTTON (YORKS.). Roger Gale's House, 13 Sept. 1725. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 20^v.

SEMPRINGHAM (NORFOLK). Roof boss, 21 Dec. 1736. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 81^v.

SHAP (WESTMORLAND). Drawing of Shap Abbey. Gough Drawings A2, f. 85.

SHENFIELD (ESSEX). Roman statuettes found in 1725. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, f. 42^v.

SHEPARTON (MIDDLESEX). Plans and notes of 'Caesar's Camp', 28 Oct. 1723; 6 June 1759. Soc. Ant. Lond. Roman Prints, iii; Gough Gen. Top. MSS. 24.

SHERWOOD FOREST (NOTTS.). Drawing of St. Anne's Well, 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 44^v.

SHOOTER'S HILL (KENT). Roman road, notes on. Gough Maps 229, f. 38.

SILCHESTER (HANTS). Plan of Silchester. Devizes MS., f. 44.

SOHAM (CAMBS.). South Chapel, 13 Sept. 1745. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 82. Church, 13 Sept. 1745. Ibid., f. 82^v.

SOUTHWELL (NOTTS.). Interior Section of Minster, 17 Sept. 1734. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 51.

SPALDING (Lincs.). Drawing of Spalding Abbey, c. 1710-20. MS. Top. gen. e. 61, f. 7.

Drawing of Town Hall, 28 Aug. 1722. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 6.

STAMFORD (Lincs.). Prospect from the top of S. Castle, 17 July 1725. MS.

Top. gen. d. 14, f. 17.

Drawing of St. Leonard's Church, 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, f. 54.

Caneby church porch. MS. Top. eccles. d. 6, f. 48.

Painted glass at St. Peter's. Ibid., f. 56v.

Prospect of, 13 July 1724. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 12.

Patriarchal Antiquities of S. in the way of Dialogue between Panagias and

Palaephatus, 1736 (Sotheby 243). Cragg MS. 18.

The Hermitage at S., 1738. Gough Maps 230, f. 411.

'My orchard on Barn Hill', 17 July 1741. Ibid., f. 362.

The Hermitage at B., 1744. Ibid., f. 410.

Plans and drawings of W. S.'s house at Stamford. Ibid. 16, ff. 50-3.

Armorial glass in St. George's Church, Sept. 1716 (coloured drawing).

Devizes MS., f. 100.

Drawings of W. S.'s house and garden. Gough Maps 230, ff. 362, 394-411.

Ibid., f. 85.

STANTON DREW (SOMERSET). Description of 'The Weddings', 1723. Keiller MS. 46.

View of whole group. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, ff. 3-4.

View (1723). Ibid., f. 17.

STOKESLEY (Yorks.). Seat of Wm. Peirson at S. from the West, 26 Oct. 1754. MS. Top. gen. d. 14, f. 52.

Prospect of S. at a distance and Ownsbury Hill, 26 Oct. 1754. Ibid., f. 53.

STONEHENGE (WILTS.). Main collections of drawings, 1720-4. Gough Maps 229. Keiller MS. 43.

Plan, May 1719. Gough Maps 33 (Wilts.), f. 2v.

Two views, 18 Aug. 1721. MS. Top. gen. d. 13, ff. 9, 9v.

Undated plans and views. Ibid., b. 53, ff. 23, 29-31; Gough Maps 231, ff. 11, 13, 35.

W. S.'s copy of *Stonehenge*, with manuscript notes and plan. Keiller MS. 42

STOW (Lincs.). Plan and elevation of Church. MS. Top. gen. b. 53, ff. 75-6.

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